United Nations S/PV.6386

Security Council

Sixty-fifth year

Provisional

6386th meeting

Thursday, 16 September 2010, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Apakan	(Turkey)
Members:	Austria	Mr. Mayr-Harting
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Mr. Barbalić
	Brazil	Mrs. Dunlop
	China	Mr. Li Baodong
	France	Mr. Briens
	Gabon	Mr. Moungara Moussotsi
	Japan	Mr. Nishida
	Lebanon	Mr. Salam
	Mexico	Mr. Heller
	Nigeria	Mrs. Ogwu
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Uganda	Mr. Rugunda
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America	Ms. Rice

Agenda

The situation in Somalia

Report of the Secretary-General on Somalia (S/2010/447)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

10-53641 (E)

Please recycle

The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Somalia

Report of the Secretary-General on Somalia (S/2010/447)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Ethiopia, Kenya, Norway and Somalia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the consideration of the item without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Duale (Somalia) took a seat at the Council table; the other aforementioned representatives took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

The President: On behalf of the Council, I wish to extend a warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Moses Wetangula, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kenya.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Augustine Mahiga, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and head of the United Nations Political Office for Somalia.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Mahiga to take a seat at the Council table.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend invitations under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Mr. Téte António, Permanent Observer of the African Union to the United Nations, and His Excellency Mr. Pedro Serrano, head of the delegation of the European Union to the United Nations.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Antonio and Mr. Serrano to take the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2010/447, containing the report of the Secretary-General on Somalia.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Augustine Mahiga. I now give the floor to Mr. Mahiga.

Mr. Mahiga: I welcome this opportunity to brief the Security Council following my appointment as Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia. I wish to begin with a briefing on some of the critical developments regarding Somalia that took place since I assumed office.

For the past two months, I have held consultations with various Somali stakeholders, including the Transitional Federal Government (TFG), the Ahlu Sunna Wal Jama'a group, and regional and international organizations, as well as civil society organizations. I have just completed consultations with countries in the region, as well as with the African Union (AU) and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). I consult regularly with envoys and partners on the Somali crisis on how to advance the peace process.

Regional leaders have raised concern that the lack of cohesion within the transitional federal institutions encourages insurgents to intensify their military and propaganda campaign against the Government and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). I have visited Mogadishu three times in the past 10 days to consult with the President on the political impasse. I have undertaken similar initiatives with the Prime Minister and the Speaker of Parliament, and urged them to resolve their differences and to continue working together. Under-Secretary-General Lynn Pascoe conveyed a similar message when he visited the

region earlier this month and met with President Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed in Mogadishu.

Earlier today, the Somali Parliament adopted a resolution to request the Prime Minister to come before Parliament and seek a vote of confidence. In this context, the Security Council may wish to underscore the need for unity and cohesion in the TFG in addressing insurgency and advancing the peace process.

The Transitional Federal Charter and the Djibouti Agreement provide for the establishment of a new, more inclusive and democratic dispensation following the end of the transitional period in August 2011. There are several tasks to be accomplished before the end of the transition. These include continuing the initiatives on reconciliation, building civilian and security institutions, and the completion of the constitution-making process, which could also serve as a vehicle for the Government and Parliament to reach out to the population through wide consultations within Somalia and with the diaspora. Furthermore, the leaders of the transitional federal institutions need to urgently discuss and agree on post-transition arrangements.

I have urged the TFG to reach out to more opposition groups, expand the political process and focus on delivering basic services to the people. In this context, the TFG must develop a road map of achievable objectives and clear timelines to be developed for the remaining transitional period. In this context, I have urged the TFG to convene without delay the high-level committee to define a political strategy and tasks to be accomplished prior to the end of the transition. These key elements will define the future institutions of a united, democratic and stable Somalia.

I commend AMISOM for ably defending the transitional federal institutions and the vital installations in Mogadishu, and for preventing the recurrent attacks by the terrorist insurgents, led by foreign fighters, from undermining the peace process. While the crisis in Somalia persists, positive opportunities still exist in both the political and security sectors to move the peace process forward. Scaled-up assistance from the international community is needed to make a difference.

I am concerned about the security situation in the country and its potential impact on the entire region. The suicide attacks carried out in Kampala on 11 July evidently bear the political and operational hallmarks of the international terrorism that threatens the subregion. Kismaayo has become the entry point for foreign fighters and war materiel for the insurgents, and a scene of criminal activities and illicit trade. There is a need for increased maritime and aviation security to deter such materiel from being used against AMISOM and the TFG. I hope that the Security Council will send a message to those State and non-State actors supporting these illicit activities, deterring them from doing so. Importing radical terrorism has negative effects not only for Somalia but for the entire subregion.

The brutal attack on the Muna Hotel in Mogadishu during the holy month of Ramadan left more than 70 people dead, including six parliamentarians. On my second visit to Mogadishu, I witnessed continuous attacks on AMISOM positions by the insurgents armed with light and heavy weapons. During my third visit on 9 September, accompanied by the envoys of the African Union and IGAD, there were suicide attacks by extremists at an AMISOM checkpoint in the approaches to Mogadishu Airport. The operation was foiled but left 14 people dead, including two AMISOM peacekeepers, and several others injured. The insurgents' operation points to the need to strengthen AMISOM's defensive capabilities.

With only 11 months until the end of the transition period, the TFG and the international community should heighten their political resolve to preserve and expand the fragile peace ushered in by the Djibouti Agreement and protected by AMISOM. The military capability of the TFG should be supported and developed to expand the territorial space and widen the political space for the TFG to operate and reach out to the Somali people. Concerted regional and international support and assistance are required at this very critical stage of the peace process if the TFG is to play the role envisaged by the Djibouti Agreement. In this connection, the decision of IGAD and the AU to deploy in Mogadishu 2,000 additional troops to enable AMISOM reach its authorized strength of 8,000 must be speedily implemented. The initiative of the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. Johnnie Carson, to help generate more troops, needed equipment and financial support to AMISOM has been well received by IGAD and the AU.

The threat level in Mogadishu and in southern Central Somalia has actually increased; therefore IGAD and the African Union foresee the need for a

new AMISOM troop level of up to 20,000 in the coming months. The AU Peace and Security Council will soon submit to the United Nations Security Council a request for authorization for increased troop levels for Mogadishu and other strategic locations in Somalia. However, this military strategy needs to be developed within the construct of an overall political strategy.

The United Nations support operation for AMISOM has discharged with distinction its mandate to deliver a support package to AMISOM. The AU and the Force Commander have on several occasions expressed their appreciation of these valuable services, which I have had the opportunity to see for myself in Mogadishu. I should also take this opportunity to thank all partners for their collective and bilateral contributions to the United Nations trust funds and direct assistance to the TFG. In the immediate future, support to the security sector and building the TFG's institutional capacities stand out as top priorities.

I should also bring to the attention of the Council the outstanding work performed by the United Nations Mine Action Service (UNMAS). This effort by UNMAS staff has dramatically reduced casualties among civilians and AMISOM peacekeepers. Through their efforts, we have significantly reduced the number of AMISOM troop casualties since last year.

It is not the number of initiatives for Somalia that is in deficit, but concrete and practical actions on the ground. As we all realize the dangerous conditions in which the TFG and AMISOM troops operate, I appeal to all Member States to move from the usual political commitments to more practical actions. While one appreciates the value of the support so far extended to AMISOM, gaps — such as lack of helicopter support for troop lift and casualty evacuation — still exist in financial and material support to the Mission. I therefore would like to stress the importance of the predictable and timely provision of these resources to AMISOM and TFG security forces during this crucial time. Furthermore, AMISOM troop allowances should match those paid under United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Of equal importance is the proper equipping of AMISOM troops with appropriate means to identify, track, deter or respond to insurgents attacks in a populated urban setting. AMISOM is currently critically short of means to prevent civilian casualties and lacks adequate surveillance and operational intelligence systems. Pre-deployment training in humanitarian law on the protection of civilians remains an important requirement. The protection of United Nations civilian staff to be deployed under the light footprint in Mogadishu and elsewhere is also critical.

We are encouraging cooperation between the TFG, Somaliland and Puntland authorities on matters of security, including anti-piracy issues and the movement of people, such as internally displaced persons. Somaliland and Puntland indeed serve as role models to the rest of Somalia, illustrating that peace and stability can be achieved.

Additionally, we will continue to advocate for and mobilize more support to the TFG, Puntland and Somaliland in other forums, such as the forthcoming international Contact Group meeting in Madrid later this month and the mini-summit on Somalia that the Secretary-General will convene here in New York on 23 September. The Istanbul Conference earlier this year was also a useful forum for profiling Somalia's present and future needs and encouraging private-sector involvement. A follow-up implementation meeting to the Conference is envisaged.

The humanitarian situation in Somalia remains dire. The sustained attacks on TFG and AMISOM positions by the insurgents have compounded the suffering of innocent civilians, particularly in Mogadishu. A growing number of civilians, including those who had recently returned to their homes, have had to flee the capital as the fighting has intensified. Refugees continue to arrive in neighbouring countries and are a major concern to those countries. The international community ought to make more assistance available to address the persistent humanitarian crisis.

That there is a need for greater cooperation and coordination among the three United Nations entities — the United Nations Political Office for Somalia (UNPOS), the United Nations Support Office for AMISOM and the country team — cannot be overemphasized. Recommendations on approaches to integration have been laid out, but implementation has stalled. I have initiated senior policy group meetings among the heads of the three United Nations entities, and a joint planning mechanism is being put in place. However, there is a need for greater impetus in moving the integration process forward, consistent with

practices elsewhere and the prevailing trend for greater cohesion in the United Nations system. UNPOS has also initiated its regional deployment of international staff in Somaliland and Puntland.

I request and encourage the Council to remain engaged and seized with the situation in Somalia, which, unlike many African conflicts, contains multiple threats to international peace and security: a protracted civil war, international terrorism, international piracy and international trafficking. Experience in Somalia has shown that the more delayed or inadequate the response, the more complex the crisis becomes. We have to act in a comprehensive manner to address these complex challenges.

The President: I thank Mr. Mahiga for his briefing.

I now give the floor to the representative of Somalia.

Mr. Duale (Somalia): I thank you, Mr. President, for giving me the opportunity to participate in this discussion on Somalia at this Security Council meeting. I hope to be very brief, although if I could follow my emotions, I believe I would speak for an hour.

We are all aware that Somalia has been in deep trouble since the collapse of the central Government in 1990-1991, and the Security Council has been seized with the Somalia question ever since. It is no exaggeration to say that the situation in Somalia has been grave indeed for a considerable time, and is surely a threat to regional and international peace and security. In this connection, I also wish to highlight, with thanks and appreciation, the issues raised in the Secretary-General's comprehensive report (S/2010/447), as well as the departments and staff who participated in its preparation. I also thank Special Representative Mahiga for his frank, lucid and sincere presentation of the current situation in Somalia. We fully subscribe to the solutions he has just presented, to be acted upon, I submit, with the urgency the situation requires. I do not want to dwell on the details Mr. Mahiga has given; they express the gravity of the situation so well that I subscribe to them completely.

I also take this opportunity to express my gratitude for the support that Somalia has received from the United Nations to date, especially with regard to the needs of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). Those needs are, unfortunately, in the economic, equipment-related, administrative and financial areas, despite the fact that AMISOM is heroically defending a very critical situation, and that without it the Somali Government would have collapsed a long time ago. We therefore hope that AMISOM will be given all the support it needs to deal with the real problems facing the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and Somalia in general.

On the issue of piracy and terrorist activities, we see a clear link between the continuing instability on land and the increased acts of terrorism and piracy. Simply put, we cannot afford to treat piracy and terrorism in isolation. We must look at the real root causes and do something about those too.

We are deeply concerned about the constant negative and hostile media coverage of the sincere efforts of the African Union (AU), the United Nations, the World Food Programme, AMISOM and the Transitional Federal Government and institutions. To us, this negative, hostile coverage is not an accident, but looks like part of a larger effort to keep Somalia destabilized and give ammunition to the propaganda machinery of the terrorists. We therefore hope that the media will collaborate with the TFG, the AU, AMISOM, the United Nations and the international community in their support of all of Somalia's efforts.

I take this opportunity to call on the Security Council to make some significant decisions on Somalia that will enable my country to stabilize, rehabilitate and reconstruct, bearing in mind Mr. Mahiga's constructive presentation. We hope that we will see more positive action this time than we have in the past 20 years.

The President: I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Moses Wetangula, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kenya.

Mr. Wetangula (Kenya): It is my privilege and honour to speak to the Council this morning on a country that has for a long time remained a source of collective shame for the international community, a country that is a source of insecurity and many difficulties in the East African and Horn of Africa region.

The situation in Somalia can be described as dire, as Mr. Mahiga put it, because we have armed groups that operate at will and are overrunning virtually the

whole country. As we all know, Somalia has not had a government for 20 years now. It is plagued by war, violence and instability. Through regional initiatives, particularly through the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), supported by the African Union (AU) and the United Nations, negotiations were conducted in Kenya leading to the signing of the Transitional Federal Charter. The Charter gave birth to several institutions, including a parliament, a Government and other functioning institutions, albeit very weak ones.

The Transitional Federal Charter comes to an end in August next year. As we face the sunset of the Charter, there is heightened fighting, a lack of effective central government and a rapid growth in the number of incidents of terrorism and piracy. A group called Al-Shabaab has virtually overrun the Government, and were it not for the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), which continues to hold the fort around Villa Somalia, Al-Shabaab would perhaps have overrun the whole Government by now. Indeed, we know that they have carried out several successful attacks on Villa Somalia.

The situation in Somalia is now overflowing into its neighbours. On the day of the finals of the World Cup in South Africa, very devastating, cowardly and wicked attacks were carried out in our neighbouring country, Uganda, where a large number of lives was lost, lives of both Ugandan nationals and Kenyan nationals. It has turned out, as claimed by the group itself, that this attack was mounted by Al-Shabaab using collaborators and agents from within the region. In fact, some of the arrested suspects are young people, of both Somali and non-Somali ethnic backgrounds, from Kenya.

This fact brings very close to home — to my country — the real possibility of the chaos in Somalia spilling over to Kenya. Indeed, the Al-Shabaab leadership has repeatedly proclaimed that the next target of attack will be Nairobi, Kenya, Bujumbura, Burundi and other neighbouring capitals, such as Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

As I have said, the story of Somalia is not new. There has been no lack of initiatives. I think that what has been lacking is the commitment to see those initiatives through.

I want to emphasize the need to recognize the centrality of IGAD in trying to resolve the problems of Somalia. IGAD, as an organization, has been acting as the representative of the AU, and to some degree in collaboration with the United Nations. Through IGAD, a negotiated Charter was signed. Through IGAD, the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) was formed, and in collaboration with the United Nations the Djibouti process that put in place the current Government was undertaken.

Sometimes, as a region, we feel a little nervous to see a proliferation of initiatives and meetings and conferences in several capitals. These are helpful, but sometimes nonetheless born out of inadequate consultative processes.

I want to laud the meeting we had in Istanbul, chaired by the Secretary-General and supported by the AU, where among the many things agreed upon was that IGAD was going to remain central to the process of pushing Somali issues forward. Indeed, the Secretary-General stated then that initiatives that will come thereafter will be called IGAD-plus initiatives, for us to be able to chaperone the Somali problems.

After the Istanbul conference, we had a meeting of IGAD at the summit level in Addis Ababa where several positive and proactive pronouncements were made. First, it was acknowledged that the Government in Somalia was extremely weak and was in a state that required very urgent intervention.

Secondly, it was agreed that IGAD, the AU and the international community, including the United Nations, should shift gears from business-as-usual engagement on Somalia and take a more proactive and better defined trajectory towards seeing how to help this unfortunate neighbouring country.

Thirdly, it was agreed, that while AMISOM had an authorized required force of 8,100, even if that optimal number were achieved, it would remain inadequate. The region set a figure of a 20,000- to 22,000-strong force, but also agreed and acknowledged that the problem for Somalia was not and is not the lack of troops; it is the lack of will of the international community to bring troops together.

It was noted that there are troops that have been trained by countries of the region — Ethiopia, Djibouti, Kenya and Uganda. There are also offers from Tanzania and some other southern African countries to train more troops. It was equally noted that, through the AU peace and security architecture

and the birth of the Eastern Africa Standby Force, we have a 15,000-strong troop contingent available that can be effectively put to use in Somalia.

It was also agreed that the region, particularly IGAD and the AU, will want to see a joint approach in which we have a coordinated joint command but with AMISOM at the apex of the Eastern African Standby Force, troops trained by neighbours at the request of the TFG and the international community, and then other troops that may be available so that the approach to bringing normalcy to Somalia is not disjointed. This approach, in Kenya's view, is predicated on the fact that it is seeking not a military solution to the problems of Somalia but a process of securing the integrity of the territory of Somalia and giving capacity and strength to the Government of Somalia, because a Government is no Government if it is not able to provide for the peace and security of its people and secure the territorial integrity of its country.

We did this knowing that we have constantly encouraged the Transitional Federal Government to reach out to its opponents to discuss and find a lasting solution to the problems of their country. This was reiterated in Kampala at the African Union summit where, apart from the pronouncement by the AU, there was a mini-IGAD summit, also attended by the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs of the United States, Johnnie Carson, and IGAD partners, which include several European countries and the United States. This point was overwhelmingly endorsed and immediately achievable goals were set in place. Raising 2,000 troops within 20 days has not been done. We are closing in on the goal of raising an additional 2,000 troops within 60 days, but we have not met the first benchmark. There was also an undertaking by the United States to call upon our richer friends — particularly from Europe, though Japan and others were mentioned — to put some money in the basket to enable the troops we are putting together, which will not be within the framework of AMISOM but under a coordinated command with AMISOM, to be paid their monthly stipends and rations so that they will be able to carry out their duties. I hope that together we will be able to see this happen.

Since Kampala, no meeting has been called. We hope that after the General Assembly gathering of heads of State, we can return to Africa and have a meeting to be coordinated, we hope, by the United States, which co-chaired the Kampala meeting, and the United Nations. As the Council can see, it is not lack of initiatives that is the problem in Somalia. It is the failure to fulfil our promises and the lack of a coordinated approach in our engagement with Somalia.

We fully welcome the appointment of Ambassador Mahiga. As he is a son of the region, I have no doubt that he will be able to understand even better the problems of Somalia. In our meetings, we have clearly indicated to him that it does not matter how many warships we may deploy to fight piracy; as long as Somalia remains chaotic, piracy will be born on land and manifested at sea. And if the TFG were to collapse — and god forbid that should occur — and the group called Al-Shabaab were to pursue an agenda and ideology whose foundation is the destruction of all non-Muslim people in region, as a country and as a neighbour we would be uncomfortable with a situation like that. We have no problem with Islam as a religion, and let nobody make any mistake about that because in my country we have a very large Muslim population. We have Muslim ministers, but we are a secular State and a secular State we want to remain.

I would want to urge the Security Council to enforce some of the decisions that we have made in the region. For instance, IGAD recommended the imposition of targeted sanctions on certain aspects of Somalia, including airfields in the hands of Al-Shabaab and other negative elements and the blockade of the port of Kismaayo, which is the main supply line for Al-Shabaab. The AU endorsed that, and through this process the United Nations imposed some targeted sanctions on the State of Eritrea, which to us in the region remains one of the principal collaborators and suppliers of Al-Shabaab. We want to see this process enforced.

I can assure you, Mr. President, and Ambassador Mahiga will bear witness for me on this, that if the port of Kismaayo were blockaded, 70 per cent of the strength of Al-Shabaab would be dealt a blow because it is the principal supply line and only about 70 kilometres from the international boundary with Kenya. The Council can see what type of situation that puts my country's peace in.

As I come to an end, I also want to urge the United Nations to support the region in formulating — perhaps through Mr. Mahiga's Office — a very robust and clear communication strategy to counter the propaganda from Al-Shabaab. It runs powerful radio

stations and powerful communications tools that overshadow or overrun any Government initiative in Somalia.

The most important point is to now address the sunset days of the Transitional Federal Charter, which will expire in August 2011. It has given birth to legitimate institutions that have helped run Somalia and to legitimate engagement between nations and the Government of Somalia. IGAD has already pronounced itself on this, and we have looked at the Charter and at the clauses that might allow the extension the life of the Charter. But we do not want to extend the life of the Charter only to sustain the status quo. We would want to extend the life of the Charter on the basis of reason and thinking that will make a difference and achieve that which we probably will not have achieved during the first life of the Charter. That can be done, and the region will be able to midwife those efforts.

We hope to see the international community come together in a more coherent, proactive and sincere manner to assist the region to help Somalia.

The President: I shall now give the floor to the members of the Security Council.

Sir Mark Lyall Grant (United Kingdom): I would like to thank this morning the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia, Mr. Augustine Mahiga, for his first appearance in his new capacity in the Security Council. I would also like to thank the honourable Foreign Minister of Kenya for his very heartfelt and thoughtful and insightful contribution to our discussion today, and the Permanent Representative of Somalia for his contribution to the debate.

I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his latest report (S/2010/447) and for the briefing that the Special Representative gave us this morning. We greatly appreciate the work of the Special Representative, including that of his predecessor, his team and all the United Nations agencies active in Somalia. The United Kingdom looks forward to working closely with him on the Somalia issue, and we offer him our full support.

The situation in Somalia continues to be of deep concern. There have been a few bright spots, as the Secretary-General's report spells out. The free and fair presidential elections in Somaliland in July led to a peaceful transfer of power from one Government to another. But that is hugely overshadowed by some very distressing incidents, including the Kampala bombings, the attack on the Muna hotel, and the attacks by armed opposition groups in Mogadishu during the holy month of Ramadan. These have been shocking reminders of the impact of instability in Somalia, both on the Somali people and on the wider region. The Minister set out very starkly today the immediate threat to Kenya from the instability in Somalia.

We extend our deepest sympathy to the Government of Uganda, the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and the Somali people for the tragic losses they have suffered. I pay particular tribute to Uganda and Burundi for their continuing commitment to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the difficult operation they face in Somalia. We unreservedly condemn any attacks on AMISOM, including attacks on the Transitional Federal Government and the Somali people.

It is essential that all parties fully support the Djibouti peace process and join efforts to bring peace to Somalia. There are only 11 months remaining of the transitional period, as defined by the Djibouti Agreement. Important transitional tasks still need to be completed. It is imperative that the Transitional Federal Government and the international community intensify their efforts towards a more peaceful and stable Somalia.

I would like to make five points this morning on the United Nations operation in Somalia, the political situation, peacekeeping, the problem of piracy and the humanitarian situation.

First, we welcome the Secretary-General's work to review the United Nations operation in Somalia and his efforts to encourage better coordination between the United Nations agencies. We must have a more coherent and integrated United Nations approach if the United Nations is to deliver the strong leadership that we all want to see. We welcome the Secretary-General's plans to increase the United Nations presence in Somalia. We do not underestimate the difficulties, but we need all parts of the United Nations working in an integrative manner to deliver a single strategy. We look forward to seeing further details of how this can be achieved.

Secondly, greater United Nations engagement cannot deliver progress without political leadership from the TFG. We urge the TFG to intensify its efforts

towards dialogue and reconciliation and to deliver better governance and reform of the security sector. The constitutional process provides an opportunity for the TFG to reach out to those outside the Djibouti process and to give them a stake in Somalia's future. The TFG must resolve its internal differences, which are deeply damaging. There can be no successful military strategy in a political vacuum.

The actions of spoilers also need to be addressed. Arming, training and supporting armed opposition groups in Somalia, particularly Al-Shabaab, has a serious destabilizing effect. The AMISOM Force Commander made that clear when he briefed Council members on Monday this week, and the Foreign Minister has reinforced that message to the Council today. Those actions are also in contravention of Security Council resolutions. We strongly support the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in calling on all parties to abide by their obligations and work to foster peace in Somalia and the wider region, and the Council must assume its responsibilities in this respect.

Thirdly, AMISOM continues to play a vital role in providing security. We welcome the recent announcement by the African Union, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development and those in the region about plans to increase the number of AMISOM troops. And we agree with the three briefers this morning that AMISOM and the TFG security forces in Somalia need more support.

The United Kingdom was pleased to be able to contribute $1.5 million to AMISOM earlier this year for radio support, in addition to the $15 million we have already given via the trust fund. We will continue to look at how we can provide support in the future. It is essential that AMISOM and the TFG receive adequate funding, and we look forward to discussing this issue in more detail with the Secretary-General.

Fourthly, the international community must also continue its efforts through the Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia, and we look forward to the comprehensive report that will be presented to the Security Council in October on this issue.

Finally, the most serious impact of the instability in Somalia is on the Somali people themselves. The humanitarian situation remains deeply worrying and has been compounded by recent fighting and attacks on humanitarian workers and their compounds by armed opposition groups, including Al-Shabaab. We hope that the World Food Programme will be able to restore its programmes in southern central Somalia as soon as it is safe to do so.

Now more than ever, the United Nations must show strong leadership in Somalia, and the international community must do all it can to ensure that the United Nations has the support it needs. We welcome Mr. Mahiga's determination to give that leadership, and we look forward to discussing these issues further at next week's high-level meeting.

Ms. Rice (United States of America): I want to begin by thanking Special Representative Mahiga for his comprehensive and very informative briefing, and for his active leadership on behalf of Somalia. I also want to salute the Foreign Minister of Kenya and the Permanent Representative of Somalia for their very powerful presentations, which, as I think Council members could see, had an impact on all of us as we listened.

The United States shares the Secretary-General's view of the exceedingly dangerous situation in Somalia. Long-term security and stability in Somalia depend on a stable and effective Government. We continue to support the Djibouti peace process, and we call upon the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) to focus on completion of the transitional tasks in the spirit of inclusivity envisioned in the peace process. We also urge the TFG to work out its differences, in the interest of the people of Somalia.

Supporting the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) is key both to stabilizing Mogadishu and to advancing the Somali peace process. We welcome and we commend Uganda's and Burundi's increased troop contributions to AMISOM, which now has a force of nearly 7,000. We salute their sacrifices, and we thank the forces and their Governments for their sustained commitment and support. We call on troop-contributing countries to increase their support to AMISOM so that it can reach its mandated strength. Since AMISOM's deployment, in 2007, the United States has obligated more than $185 million to provide logistic support, equipment and pre-deployment training to its forces. We again encourage other nations to step forward with additional bilateral contributions.

The United States recognizes the calls to increase AMISOM troop levels beyond the current mandated strength and the various proposals to expand United

Nations assessed funding for AMISOM. We are currently reviewing those proposals and will give them thorough consideration. We look forward to receiving more details from the Secretariat, the African Union (AU) and AMISOM.

The United States condemns the increased fighting in Somalia. We also denounce the several recent Al-Shabaab attacks, including the 24 August attack at the Hotel Muna, the 30 August attack on the presidential palace in Mogadishu and the 9 September attack on the AMISOM position at the airport, which left TFG ministers, AMISOM peacekeepers and innocent civilians dead. Such incidents demonstrate the need for continued support to AMISOM to counter groups such as Al-Shabaab and others that work to destabilize the TFG and inflict further chaos on the Somali people.

We remain deeply concerned as well about piracy off the coast of Somalia. Long-term security and stability in Somalia are necessary, as has been underscored, to address the root causes of piracy, and we anticipate an active discussion of the linkages between security and development during the next meeting of the International Contact Group on Somalia later this month.

At the same time, we must respond to the immediate challenges that piracy poses. The United Nations recently published a report (S/2010/394) on options for better prosecuting and imprisoning pirates. The United States remains committed to working together to address piracy off the Somali coast, including on issues of prosecution and incarceration.

The United States is deeply concerned as well about the victims of incidents of sexual violence in camps for internally displaced persons (IDPs). Deliberately targeting vulnerable populations undermines stability and exacerbates an already dire humanitarian situation. The United States also strongly condemns the use of children to pursue violent agendas. We call on all parties to immediately release all children within their ranks, to halt child recruitment and to provide for the proper reintegration into civilian life of former child soldiers. Let me say again what I have said before: the only tolerable number of child soldiers is zero; the only tolerable amount of sexual violence is zero.

Today's briefing also underscores the extraordinary strains on the humanitarian situation in Somalia. The United Nations Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit reports that approximately 2 million people will need humanitarian aid between July and December of this year and that thousands continue to be uprooted and displaced every month. The Famine Early Warning System of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) estimates that approximately a quarter of the Somali population remains food-insecure. and malnutrition rates remain at crisis levels. Lack of security and stability continues to worsen this already troubling situation.

The United States remains deeply committed to responding to the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Somalia. We condemn Al-Shabaab's obstruction of aid delivery to more than a million Somalis. We also strongly condemn targeted attacks on humanitarian aid workers, kidnappings and extortion by Al-Shabaab and other violent extremists, which further hamper the provision of life-saving humanitarian aid.

In closing, let me reiterate that the United States remains committed to seeing peace and stability take hold in Somalia for the sake of the Somali people and the region. We continue to support the Djibouti peace process and Somalia's Transitional Federal Government and its efforts to bring security and stability to a country that has already endured far too much.

Mrs. Dunlop (Brazil): I thank Ambassador Mahiga for his comprehensive briefing, and I reiterate today my delegation's firm support for his difficult work. I also welcome the presence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya and thank him for his statement, which, as rightly observed by Ambassador Susan Rice, had a very strong impact on all of us. I also welcome the presence of the Permanent Representative of Somalia among us this morning.

Less than one year before the conclusion of the transitional period in Somalia, we must make an objective assessment of where we stand and where we are headed. It is undeniable that some progress has been made, the most important elements of which are the preservation of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and the resumption of parliamentary activity. At the same time, it is clear that the challenges remain daunting. The heinous attacks in Kampala and the recent violence perpetrated by Al-Shabaab in Mogadishu — in defiance even of

Ramadan — provide compelling evidence of this. It is also disturbing that the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) has not yet been able to move from the initial phase of its original plan to stabilize the country.

In order to overcome the current deadly stagnation, there is a need to more firmly combine enhanced political efforts and increased military power.

Regarding the first aspect, it is very positive that the TFG has been able to reach agreements on cooperation with Ahlu Sunnah Wal Jama'a and regional administrations. Yet, for the past several months, the transitional federal institutions have been mired in disputes within and among themselves. This has deviated attention from the priorities for peace and stability in Somalia, such as expanding political outreach to further broaden the TFG's support base and completing outstanding transitional tasks. The unity, resolve and public spirit of the transitional federal institutions are indispensable elements of any successful strategy for the stabilization of Somalia. An inclusive and genuine process of consultations, as envisaged for the drafting of the constitution, can also serve as an excellent opportunity to re-energize the political process.

With regard to security, AMISOM is to be truly commended. It has been able to ensure the survival of the transitional federal institutions in Mogadishu under relentless attack, secure strategic infrastructure and facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance. This would not have been possible without the sacrifices made by Uganda and Burundi. We also welcome the decision by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to deploy 2,000 troops and enable AMISOM to reach its authorized strength, and the current planning of the African Union (AU) on new phases for the strengthening of AMISOM.

It is clear, however, that the Mission needs more help from us. The Security Council, the United Nations and the international community as a whole should complement the subregional and regional efforts.

We appreciate the progress towards a light footprint of the United Nations in Mogadishu and elsewhere in Somalia, and on the provision of the support package by the United Nations Support Office for AMISOM. Brazil looks forward to the Secretary-General's proposals on an integrated United Nations presence in the country as a means to enhance the effectiveness and coherence of United Nations activities on the ground.

One major concern is the lack of comprehensive, coherent, predictable and sustainable financial support to AMISOM and the TFG security forces. It is worrying that, one and a half years after the Brussels Conference, the pledges made there are still not fully disbursed. In addition, the usual multiple earmarks and caveats with respect to the funds disbursed undermine the effectiveness of AMISOM and the TFG security forces in a very challenging environment. We urge donors to consider lifting them without delay.

Financial predictability is of particular importance with regard to the remuneration of soldiers. If a steady flow of funding for salaries is not ensured, there is a real danger that efforts and expenses undertaken by donors in training troops may be squandered through their desertion to others who pay better and more regularly. This must be avoided. Raising the standards of support for AMISOM to those of United Nations peacekeeping missions is also important to secure additional troops, especially when we consider the current IGAD/AU plan for increasing the Mission's authorized strength.

We should certainly also do more on the human dimension of the conflict in Somalia. We welcome the discussions among the United Nations, the AU and AMISOM on strengthening the protection of civilians. The proposal to document the most serious violations of human rights and humanitarian laws is worthy of support, especially in a situation where Al-Shabaab is recruiting children as young as nine years old and imposing cruel and degrading punishments such as beheadings, stonings and amputations.

Here as well, financing is a serious problem, as we know. Significant gaps remain in humanitarian funding for Somalia, which further worsens the situation of a people already deeply affected by years of violence and lack of effective government. The fact that key activities such as nutrition, health care and water are less than 40 per cent funded is rather troubling. Brazil is trying to do its part. We recently made a voluntary contribution to the World Food Programme (WFP), to be used in Somalia. We hope that WFP can soon be in a position to safely resume its activities in southern central Somalia, beyond Mogadishu.

Next year will not only mark the end of the transitional period in Somalia; it will also be the twentieth anniversary of a conflict that has already created a generation of Somalis who do not really know what peace is. It is time for decisive action to put an end to this situation.

Mr. Nishida (Japan): I would like to thank Mr. Mahiga for his first briefing to the Council as Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia, and extend our appreciation for the very strong messages from the Foreign Minister of Kenya and the Permanent Representative of Somalia.

Japan continues to be concerned at the very fragile security situation in Somalia, as evidenced by the recent series of terrorist attacks against the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), including the latest attack at Mogadishu Airport. It is our view that, in order to stabilize the political and security situation in Somalia, the TFG must first of all strive for political unity and improvement of management within itself. The international community, in particular AMISOM and the United Nations, can then focus on making concerted efforts to support the TFG. Japan hopes that the mini-summit meeting on Somalia at the margins of the new General Assembly session next week will lay a foundation for countries, including donors, to further strengthen and better coordinate their cooperation in support of Somalia.

Japan takes note of the efforts of the TFG in promoting the Djibouti process, including the reorganization of its cabinet to include Ahlu Sunna Wal Jama'a, since our last briefing in the Security Council. However, we are concerned that little progress has been made in the political dialogue with moderate opposition groups. Japan believes that it is of the utmost importance that the TFG intensify its efforts to garner support from moderate opposition groups, and that the role of international community is to help to create an environment conducive to that end.

The role of AMISOM is significant for protecting the TFG and maintaining security in Mogadishu. In this regard, we pay tribute to the troop-contributing countries, Burundi and Uganda, for their dedication and commitment. Japan also appreciates the efforts of the African Union and the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development to achieve the mandated AMISOM troop level of 8,000, as authorized by resolution 1910 (2010). In this context, we welcome the recent deployment of an additional battalion by Uganda, and hope that other countries that have pledged deployments will follow through.

We recognize that the steady implementation of United Nations logistical support to AMISOM is very important in supporting the Mission's work. In this regard, Japan is ready to continue consultations on the issue of AMISOM contingent-owned equipment, taking into account the course of discussions in the Security Council towards adopting relevant resolutions. We believe that this issue must be discussed as part of an integrated strategy, under which the strengthening of AMISOM will contribute to the political process in Somalia.

The efforts of the TFG and AMISOM need to be reinforced by the support of the international community, including the United Nations. In this regard, Japan appreciates the engagement of Mr. Mahiga and the Secretariat in establishing a light footprint presence in Mogadishu. Japan further appreciates the continuing provision of humanitarian assistance under very difficult circumstances.

Japan, for its part, has been actively engaged in discussion on Somalia issues in the Security Council, the International Contact Group on Somalia and other forums, and has provided assistance of $124.4 million since 2007, focusing on two pillars: humanitarian assistance and restoration of infrastructure, on the one hand; and the strengthening of security in Somalia, mainly through the trust funds, in support of Somali security institutions and AMISOM, on the other. We are determined to continue our engagement to support Somalia, in cooperation with all Member States.

Mr. Briens (France) (*spoke in French*): First of all, I should like to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Mahiga, for the briefing he has just given us and to hail his courage when on 9 September he was confronted with an attack on the airport in Mogadishu, where he was to meet President Sharif, accompanied by the Special Representative of the Chair of the African Union Commission and the Special Envoy of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). I would also like to thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya and the Permanent Representative of Somalia for the candour

and the clarity of their statements. I note their commitment to work for stability in Somalia.

As emphasized by the report of the Secretary-General (S/2010/447), the security situation in Somalia is deteriorating in a troubling way. The offensive launched by extremists in recent weeks has led to violent clashes in Mogadishu. The militias control today a significant portion of the capital, threaten the headquarters of the transitional institutions and are capable of infiltrating neighbourhoods controlled by the Transitional Federal Government (TFG). Attacks against parliamentarians on 24 August and against representatives of the international community and the President of Somalia at the airport a week ago, are evidence of that.

In Somalia the main day-to-day victims of terrorists are civilians. In the past four months, 1,600 civilians have been admitted to Mogadishu hospitals as a result of fighting, including 400 children under 5 years of age. Insecurity also undermines the TFG's reconstruction efforts and harms economic development in the country.

The capacity of Al-Shabaab to cause harm also extends beyond the borders of Somalia and involves the entire region, as shown by the bloody attacks in Kampala on 11 July. Finally, instability in Somalia is still fertile ground for the piracy that threatens offshore sea lanes.

In this context, we welcome the commitment of the Ugandan and Burundian troops of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), which makes it possible to secure key infrastructure in the capital and that of the transitional institutions. The entire international community must continue to support them. While IGAD and the African Union announced in July an increase of AMISOM troops to 8,000, the assistance that new contributors could provide would no doubt be critical.

For its part, France is actively contributing to the efforts of the international community in Somalia. Let me recall that in 2009 we trained 500 TGF soldiers. We are working with the European Union to train 2,000 Somali soldiers. Moreover, France has trained 5,600 AMISOM soldiers over the past three years, and today, with our European partners, we are financing soldiers of the force. We are also contributing to the United Nations logistical support package for AMISOM. Finally, France is involved in Operation Atalanta to combat piracy off the coast of Somalia.

Support for Government forces and AMISOM cannot take place without a genuine strategy coordinated with the political action of the TFG. The United Nations has a role to play in this matter. Politically and on the ground, the support of the countries of the region is necessary for success.

In the spirit of the Djibouti Agreement the TFG has in recent months made efforts to broaden its political base. The rapprochement with Ahlu Sunnah Wal Jama'a is an important step, which must be solidified. Work on drafting a constitution is also proceeding. Still, we expect more from the TFG. Disputes among the representatives of the transitional institutions have undermined their action and are unacceptable. Gestures must be made towards all who have agreed to renounce violence. Similarly, regular dialogue must be conducted by the TFG with the regions of Puntland and Somaliland. Finally, less than a year before the end of the transitional period, it is time for the TFG to prove that it is capable of offering basic services to the people: health care, education, justice and security. In all of these areas, needs remain considerable.

The United Nations is currently assisting the efforts of the TFG. At the same time, it could adapt to make its action more effective. The United Nations is currently conducting in Somalia various and complementary activities — political, logistical, humanitarian and development-related — through 25 separate bodies. We support enhanced integration of these various actions under the direct authority of the Special Representative, so that they can be more coherent, as proposed by the Secretary-General. We will carefully study the specific proposals of the Secretary-General on this matter. The initial measures of coordination — including the establishment of a Senior Policy Group bringing together the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, the Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator and the Director of the United Nations Support Office for AMISOM — are a first step, but they must go further, because our credibility is at stake.

We also encourage, as soon as possible and in particular once the security situation permits it, the establishment of a United Nations office in Mogadishu, so as to mark the continuity and involvement of the

United Nations in Somalia. In this regard, we strongly encourage the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to ensure this United Nations presence in Somalia, as the Secretary-General has asked him to do.

With respect to piracy, we all agree that we need to find solutions on land; we also need to pursue our action at sea. The debate held on 25 August (see S/PV.6374) enabled us to take a look at options proposed by the Secretary-General for prosecuting and imprisoning arrested pirates. The recommendations of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on these issues, Mr. Jack Lang, should enable us to find a solution that is both effective and equitable, for States in the region as well as States involved at sea.

The coming months will be critical for Somalia as the transitional period draws to a close, so I would like to assure Mr. Mahiga that he will have the support and confidence of France as he carries out the complex job he has undertaken.

Mr. Heller (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): We thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia, Ambassador Augustine Mahiga, for the valuable information he has provided, and we welcome him to the Council. We also welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya, Mr. Moses Wetangula, and the Permanent Representative of Somalia, Ambassador Elmi Ahmed Duale, to whom we listened attentively.

The recent and welcome appointment of Ambassador Mahiga as Special Representative for Somalia and head of the United Nations Political Office for Somalia offers an opportunity to fine-tune the United Nations approach towards Somalia and to review the strategy to be followed, in view of the daily threats to the security of the country and the imperative need to protect the lives and basic living conditions of its people.

Clearly, the prolonged instability in Somalia currently poses a threat to peace and security in the entire region. We reiterate our strong condemnation of the acts of violence that occurred in Kampala in July as well as of the constant indiscriminate attacks in Somalia mounted by insurgent extremist groups, including attacks against United Nations installations. It is unacceptable that agencies such as UNICEF or the World Food Programme should be the victims of direct attacks aimed at impeding their work.

We reaffirm our gratitude to the countries contributing troops to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), Uganda and Burundi, and their ongoing commitment to peace. It is crucial that all concerned countries support the peace process and participate positively in the quest for stability in Somalia and the region as a whole.

We welcome the decision of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development and the African Union to promote the deployment of 2,000 troops to complete the Mission's strength, as well as the support of the United States in that undertaking. We hope that the increase in AMISOM's troop levels will create better security conditions in Mogadishu that will allow for the safe deployment of the United Nations presence in the field, in accordance with the incremental approach that the Council has supported. We commend efforts to achieve the integration of the United Nations presence in Somalia as a fundamental element of a coordinated and coherent approach to addressing the country's problems.

Concerning the political process, my delegation echoes the Secretary-General's call for a resolution to the political and reconstruction problems facing the Transitional Federal Government and for the accelerated adoption of the constitution before the transitional period concludes in August 2011. The Government's political unity is indispensable to guaranteeing the security of its authorities and to strengthening its credibility and legitimacy within the country and abroad. It is equally important to build on the progress made in strengthening the security sector, including through the establishment of military and police structures.

We acknowledge the support provided by Uganda, Djibouti and Ethiopia in training officers, and underscore the importance of ensuring that the support of the Security Council and the international community is focused on consolidating Somalia's institutions in accordance with its own priorities.

Mexico deplores the escalation of violence by the insurgent groups, which directly affects Somali civilians, in particular the most vulnerable groups, such as women, children and refugees. We reiterate our appeal for full respect for international humanitarian law and human rights, and call on the parties immediately to cease their attacks, to avoid situations that indiscriminately affect the civilian population, and

to permit access to and delivery of humanitarian assistance. Furthermore, in view of the ongoing recruitment and use of child soldiers in the conflict, we call on all parties to release the children remaining in their ranks, whom we recall are entitled to special protection pursuant to the norms and principles of international law. We support the decision of President Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed to investigate the presence of children within the armed forces of the Transitional Federal Government, and consider it necessary for the United Nations to assist Government authorities in developing a plan of action for the demobilization and reintegration of children into their communities. We eagerly await the report that the Secretary-General is preparing on this issue for the Working Group on Children and Armed Conflict.

In view of the indiscriminate violence in Somalia, it is necessary to remind its principal perpetrators of the international criminal liability they shall incur for such acts as those we have witnessed daily in that country.

Within the Committee established pursuant to resolutions 751 (1992) and 1907 (2009) concerning Somalia and Eritrea, my delegation reiterates its belief that the arms embargo and targeted sanctions regime, when used in a coherent and incremental manner, are a valuable instrument of benefit to the peace process as a whole through the full cooperation of the international community. We welcome the reports we have received from Members of the Organization pursuant to resolutions 1844 (2008) and 1907 (2009), as well as their commitment to the work of the Committee, in view of the sensitive relationship between its work and the humanitarian assistance activities in the country.

Finally, we trust that the upcoming high-level meeting on Somalia to be convened by the Secretary-General on 23 September will be an important opportunity to reaffirm the Organization's commitment to peace and security in Somalia, taking into account the important observations that have been made here by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya. The solution lies in Somalia itself, with international support that requires a coherent approach and a strategic, long-term vision.

Mrs. Ogwu (Nigeria): It is indeed a pleasure to welcome Ambassador Mahiga to the Security Council and to listen to his inaugural briefing in his capacity as Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia. I should like to congratulate him on his appointment and to wish him success in his new assignment. We take this opportunity to offer him our fullest support.

I also welcome the Foreign Minister of Kenya, whose presentation was not only very frank, but also most compelling. I thank the Permanent Representative of Somalia for his very lucid statement.

The briefing that we have heard today once again paints a mixed picture of Somalia. It is a picture of hope and a picture of apprehension. On the positive side, we note with satisfaction that, despite the tensions within the transitional federal institutions, there was considerable momentum generated by, among other things, the high-level meetings of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, the African Union summit in Kampala, the appointment of a new Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and the joint briefings three days ago by the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the United Nations Support Office for AMISOM.

The formation of a new Cabinet by Prime Minister Omar Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke, which includes members of Ahlu Sunnah Wal Jama'a, demonstrates the ability of the Government to accommodate other interests. The momentum, we believe, could be appropriately utilized to galvanize more action on the ground that will be beneficial to the people of Somalia.

There is no way peace will last in Somalia if, as the Secretary-General states in his report, volatility and insecurity between the insurgents and Government forces continue to adversely affect the civilian population in Mogadishu. The terrorist attack on the Muna Hotel during the month of Ramadan, which left over 70 people dead, was both cowardly and despicable. We deplore both the attack and its perpetrators. We believe that when all parties commit to peace and take practical steps to consolidate it, the desired change will endure in the country. In that connection, Nigeria welcomes the Secretary-General's recommendations and believes that, if implemented, they will have a significant impact in Somalia. The responsibility for making progress and achieving results in Somalia lies with all the major stakeholders, including the Somali people, AMISOM, the Security Council and all relevant partners.

On AMISOM, the briefing gave a clear indication that the Mission is on the right track and that its existing strategies are helping in no small measure to deal with the challenges in Somalia. Without the presence of AMISOM, the situation in Somalia would indeed be hard to imagine. Given AMISOM's commendable role, concerted efforts should be made to provide support that is commensurate with the operational mandates. It is a recipe for failure to deploy troops without giving them the requisite support, particularly when that support is available. It is time, therefore, to rethink our support strategy.

We want to underline the need for AMISOM forces to be paid the same rates of allowance as United Nations peacekeepers. Furthermore, troop-contributing countries should be refunded early for their contingent-owned equipment. These countries are making enormous sacrifices to deploy their troops and equipment in a difficult environment. The Council should find ways to encourage countries such as Guinea and Djibouti that are planning to deploy. In this regard, we strongly appeal to donors that have placed caveats preventing the use of their contributions for any expenditure related to the military component of AMISOM to remove those caveats in order to free resources for the reimbursement of AMISOM troop contributors. We welcome in particular the Secretary-General's recommendation that, in order to overcome the resource gap, the support package for AMISOM should be identical to the support provided to United Nations peacekeeping operations. We also support his recommendation that parity be ensured between the reimbursement rates for AMISOM and United Nations contingent personnel.

Nigeria reiterates its support for the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and welcomes the progress it has made, despite the difficulties and internal disputes it faces. The TFG needs broad and all-encompassing support to implement key transitional tasks, fight piracy and insurgency, engage in political dialogue and national reconciliation, and, indeed, extend its authority within the country, beginning with Mogadishu. It also requires support in order to engage in genuine dialogue and sustained consultation. Without adequate support, the TFG will be unable to fulfil the transitional agenda, while extremists will be emboldened to continue their attacks on both the TFG and AMISOM.

The heinous attacks of 11 July in Kampala by agents of Al-Shabaab are a grim reminder of how easily the situation in Somalia could spill over into the entire region, with dire consequences. This situation gives rise to the need for concerted and purposeful support for the TFG. A core aspect of this would be to stabilize the security environment by reinforcing the training, equipping and sustenance of the Somali police force and the national security forces. This will not be possible if efforts are not made to mobilize resources to assist Somalia. As the Secretary-General notes in his report (S/2010/447), the United Nations does not have the resources to adequately pay the police and civil servants or to reimburse countries contributing troops to AMISOM. It is needless to add that the challenges in Somalia must be able to benefit from the expertise and efficiency of an integrated United Nations system. We therefore underscore the need for the integration of the United Nations system in Somalia.

Nigeria welcomes the strong and continuing partnership between the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, the African Union and the United Nations in Somalia. Indeed, we owe a debt of gratitude to the gallant men and women of the military forces of Uganda and Burundi for their efforts and commitment to the cause of peace in Somalia. We also take this opportunity to salute the dedication of international aid and humanitarian workers in that country.

Mr. Salam (Lebanon) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I would like to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Mahiga, for his comprehensive briefing, and wish him every success in his work for peace and stability in Somalia. I also welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya and thank him for his valuable contribution, and stress the importance of the statement made the Permanent Representative of Somalia.

We support the Djibouti peace process in Somalia, and stress the need to identify a comprehensive approach to the situation in that country for a peace that addresses not only security but also economic development and the promotion of the country's institutions.

Lebanon condemns the acts of piracy and armed robbery off the shores of Somalia, which threaten navigation and international trade and obstruct the delivery of humanitarian assistance. Lebanon maintains that addressing the root causes of piracy will lead us

into the interior of Somalia, which will require building the capacities of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and its armed forces, and assisting it in providing employment opportunities for Somalis.

We have considered the Secretary-General's report (S/2010/447) and would like to stress the following points. In regard to the political process, we commend the work done by Somali institutions in certain areas, although their capabilities have been limited. Here, we note in particular the preparation of a draft constitution by December 2010. We call on the TFG to resolve its differences, move forward on fulfilling its commitments and implementing its main tasks, and improve the provision of basic services for the people.

With regard to security, we are greatly concerned about the acts of violence and repeated attacks by insurgents against the Government, leading to many innocent deaths. Such attacks demonstrate the need to support the Somali armed forces expeditiously, to expand the authority of the State and to reintegrate the deserting members of armed groups. We call on donor parties to promote support for the Somali security forces and to help them pay their salaries, a matter concerning which the Secretary-General agrees in his report, so as to address the dangers of extremism, and especially the threat posed by the Al-Shabaab movement not only to Somalis but to Muslims and others elsewhere.

In regard to the humanitarian situation, we express our great concern that children have been recruited by all parties and about reports of the coercive expulsion of internally displaced persons in Somalia and the increased sexual violence against them, particularly in Somaliland. We also condemn the repeated threats against journalists and humanitarian workers. In this respect, we regret the fact that the World Food Programme has been unable to deliver humanitarian assistance to areas under the control of Al-Shabaab, leading to a sense of marginalization among the people who live in those areas and creating an unintended image of politicization of humanitarian aid there.

With regard to the international presence in Somalia, we stress the need for further coordination between United Nations bodies working there. We also stress the importance of expediting the implementation of the phased efforts to strengthen the United Nations presence, and of the Security Council's sending a message of support for the Djibouti peace process in Somalia.

In the absence of international peacekeeping forces, we call on donor entities to increase their contributions to covering the costs of the African Union Mission. We commend the contributions of the African Union, particularly Uganda and Burundi, to efforts for peace in Somalia. We also commend the United States of America for having stated its readiness to facilitate the deployment of the 2,000 additional troops pledged by the African Union.

We call for further cooperation with regional organizations in order to benefit from their comparative advantages, in particular their special in-depth understanding of conflicts in the area and their local experience. The African Union and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development have called for the preparation of a new support plan for AMISOM that would enable it to augment its forces for deployment throughout the territory of Somalia.

Should we not respond to that call from the African Union and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development? Should we not support them and back the Secretary-General in his conviction that assistance to AMISOM should be in line with assistance provided to other peacekeeping operations? Should not the rate of reimbursement for AMISOM be similar to that for peacekeeping operations elsewhere?

We believe that the cost of investing in the attainment of peace and stability in Somalia through the Djibouti peace process and the transitional federal institutions far outweighs the danger of having a Somalia in total chaos and lacking a functioning government — not to mention the human costs, which can never be recouped.

Mr. Rugunda (Uganda): I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Mahiga, for his comprehensive statement to the Council this morning, and we congratulate him on his appointment. I also thank him for the gusto and energy he has deployed as he begins his work. He enjoys the unequivocal support of Uganda.

I wish also to welcome the Foreign Minister of Kenya, Mr. Wetangula, and to thank him for his down-to-earth statement on the situation in Somalia. I also

thank the Permanent Representative of Somalia for his helpful statement.

I fully endorse the views of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya and the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, which call for parity in the treatment of peacekeepers in Somalia vis-à-vis peacekeepers elsewhere in the world. In fact, these peacekeepers, who face the harshest conditions, end up getting the least care and being poorly treated by the international community. Hence, we need to do more than we are doing.

Uganda reaffirms its support for the Djibouti peace process, as it represents the best opportunity for lasting peace in Somalia. We commend the efforts made by the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in advancing the political process in that country. We are encouraged by its continued commitment and efforts in reaching out to opposition groups in the search for lasting peace. We therefore call upon all parties in Somalia to engage in the political process.

The security situation in Somalia remains fragile. During the holy month of Ramadan, instead of observing the edicts of Islam — which call, inter alia, for peace and generosity during the time of fasting — Al-Shabaab and other extremist groups launched an offensive with the aim of overthrowing the TFG. Moreover, they carried out these attacks, as they always do, from civilian-populated areas and facilities such as markets and hospitals. Al-Shabaab holds the people of Somalia hostage to its extremist views, obstructs the delivery of humanitarian supplies to the needy and grossly violates human rights.

The recent attacks on TFG forces and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the use of civilian facilities to carry out those attacks have left scores of people dead and many more injured. Hence, Al-Shabaab and its allies and sponsors bear sole responsibility for the continuing suffering and death endured by the Somalia people and by our peacekeepers.

The launch of the recent offensive by armed opposition groups is a clear indication that they are still receiving support in various forms from their sponsors. In addition, we are concerned about the large numbers of foreign fighters coming into the country. Al-Shabaab's activities and methods increasingly mirror those of Al-Qaida in their nature and objectives. There is therefore an urgent need to strengthen the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions dealing with spoilers and terrorist groups.

The continuing conflict and the deterioration of security have led to the worsening of the humanitarian situation, have increased the number of displaced persons and have negatively affected the delivery of humanitarian assistance in the country. We commend the humanitarian agencies and workers continuing to operate in Somalia in these very difficult conditions, and we call upon the international community to redouble its efforts and increase its support to those agencies.

The primary responsibility for maintaining peace, security and stability in Somalia ultimately lies with the TFG and the people of Somalia. However, without effective, working State institutions, this will remain a major challenge. We call upon the international community to support the rebuilding of State institutions in Somalia, especially in the security and justice sectors. Supporting the Government in improving service delivery will enhance its authority and legitimacy.

Without unity of purpose within the TFG, the support provided by the international community for the people of Somalia will be in vain. We therefore call upon the TFG and the other transitional institutions to work in harmony in addressing the challenges that are facing the country. We commend the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Mahiga, to promote cohesion and understanding within the TFG. The Special Representative's work should also help galvanize cohesion among United Nations agencies and the international community so that they can focus on streamlined action.

At the recent African Union summit, held in Kampala, heads of State or Government reaffirmed their commitment to support the people of Somalia in their quest for peace and stability. Thus, we call upon the international community to support AMISOM in effectively fulfilling its mandate. There is now a window of opportunity in Somalia for laying the foundation for peace and stability that we cannot afford to waste.

Finally, we welcome the convening by the Secretary-General of the mini-summit on Somalia on 23 September, which is really next week. We expect that this summit will help to further mobilize the

international community to support the efforts and actions aimed at stabilizing Somalia.

Mr. Churkin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for presenting the Secretary-General's report on the situation in Somalia (S/2010/447). We are pleased to welcome Augustine Mahiga in his new post and wish him success and pledge him our support. We listened carefully and with interest to the statements of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya and the representative of Somalia.

On the whole, we share the assessments presented in the report of the Secretary-General. We are troubled by recent outbreaks of violence in Mogadishu, which have aggravated an already unstable situation in the country. The extremists have not abandoned attempts to attack the positions of the forces of the Government and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), which genuinely hinder the actions of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) to establish effective leadership in the country. As a result, the civilian population and the personnel of the United Nations and humanitarian organizations remain under threat, which gives rise to grave concern and deepens the humanitarian crisis in Somalia. In these conditions, it is very important to end external support for the extremist forces in Somalia, in particular through strict compliance with Security Council resolutions.

We join in the Secretary-General's appeal to the international community's to step up its efforts to assist the TFG, especially in the area of security. There can be no doubt that in these conditions it is of special importance to ensure the unity and solidarity of transitional federal structures capable of winning the trust of Somalis. The Government needs to pursue its work to broaden its social base.

The only credible stabilizing factor in the country today is AMISOM. It is important to ensure its full staffing and its required logistical support as soon as possible. We note the relevant proposals of the Secretariat, which require some development. We believe that the phased approach to broadening the United Nations presence in the country is justified and should continue to be implemented depending on the momentum of the military and political situation. We support the desire to maintain closer contacts between United Nations agencies and the TFG and other major Somali parties. It is important to strengthen the coordination action of United Nations agencies, including in putting together joint programmes and operations.

The problem of piracy remains pressing, and any long-term solution will depend on the prospects for advancing the political process and rebuilding Somalia. It is obvious that one of the important causes of the inadequate effectiveness of international anti-piracy efforts resides in the current imperfect mechanism for holding the pirates accountable. We must create the necessary judicial bodies, especially at the regional level. However, the search for additional opportunities to combat piracy should be conducted along other lines. In particular, we believe that effective prosecution of the leaders of the piracy industry would be assisted by placing them on Council sanctions lists.

Russia will continue to support the efforts of the President of Somalia and the TFG to achieve sustainable peace and national reconciliation in the country on the basis of the Djibouti Agreement in the interest of strengthening security and stability in the region.

Mr. Barbalić (Bosnia and Herzegovina): At the outset, I would like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Augustine Mahiga, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia, for his introduction of the Secretary-General's report (S/2010/447) and comprehensive briefing this morning.

Also, we would like to welcome His Excellency Mr. Moses Wetangula, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kenya. Additionally, we would like to thank the Ambassador of Somalia for his statement.

Bosnia and Herzegovina condemns in the strongest possible terms the recent suicide attacks in Somalia and expresses its condolences to the families of the victims. We also once again express condolences to the families of the victims of the terrorist attacks that took place in Kampala on 11 July. Those tragic incidents once again remind us of the fragility of the security situation in Somalia, which remains a major concern for us, and of its impact on the wider region.

Bosnia and Herzegovina reiterates its full support for the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and the Djibouti peace process as the only legitimate and viable framework to achieve lasting peace in Somalia. As the end of the transitional period approaches, it is important that all relevant actors in the country show

their full commitment to the implementation of the key transitional tasks through unity. This challenge requires the serious dedication of Somali institutions to ensure that the transitional period is not prolonged in order to justify the confidence and efforts of the Somali people and the international community.

We call upon the TFG to intensify its efforts, especially in the areas of political reconciliation and outreach, the constitution-making process, security, stability and the delivery of services, and urge all groups outside the Djibouti peace process to join it as soon as possible. The international community has shown its devotion to assisting the Somali people in achieving lasting peace and stability in the country. We express our hope that these efforts will continue, and we reiterate our call on the international community and partners of Somalia to provide urgent military and financial support, as well as other necessary resources to the TFG.

Bosnia and Herzegovina remains concerned regarding the humanitarian situation in the country. Despite the fact that the rainy season has improved the food security situation, a large number of people still depend on food assistance. Unfortunately, the delivery of this needed assistance is still obstructed in some parts of the country.

We are deeply concerned over the recruitment and use of children in the conflict, as well as over the reports of cases of killed or injured children. We therefore urge all parties to the conflict to fully comply with international humanitarian and human rights law in order to protect the civilian population.

Once more, Bosnia and Herzegovina would like to commend the African Union, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, and particularly the troops of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) for their tireless efforts in stabilizing the situation in Somalia, despite the extremely difficult environment in which AMISOM troops are operating. We therefore call upon the international community to continue its support to AMISOM with the aim of fully implementing its mandate. We welcome the efforts of the Joint Security Committee to coordinate the security sector development initiatives. Strengthening the processes of the Somali police force and national security forces is vital to peace and stability in Somalia. Therefore, we would like to emphasize that the cooperation and assistance of the international community to the TFG are crucial, and that every resource should be used to generate the political and security conditions necessary for the successful completion of the transition by 2011.

Bosnia and Herzegovina recognizes the importance of the United Nations Support Office for AMISOM and its efforts to provide a logistical support package to AMISOM, as well as the hard work of the United Nations Political Office for Somalia, the United Nations country team and all other humanitarian organizations.

Finally, on the issue of piracy off the coast of Somalia, we share the view that the piracy poses a threat to peace and security, not just in the region but globally. We reiterate our position that a long-term solution will come only through fighting the root causes of piracy by restoring stability and the rule of law in Somalia.

Mr. Li Baodong (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening today's public debate to discuss the matter of Somalia. I would like to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Mahiga, for his briefing. I would like to thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya and the Permanent Representative of Somalia for their presence and for their statements.

In recent times, the international community has continued to work towards a solution in Somalia. The Somali Transitional Federal Government (TFG) has resolutely fought against attacks launched by armed opposition forces. Efforts to equip and train the Somali security forces are proceeding apace. The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) has been strengthened. In addition, international cooperation to combat piracy off the coast of Somalia has continued to progress. However, the security situation in Somalia has yet to show any visible sign of improvement. The humanitarian crisis has intensified and piracy has continued unabated. The question of Somalia remains a serious challenge to peace and security in the Horn of Africa and to the world at large.

Resolving internal political differences and establishing an effective central Government are the important pre-conditions for the international community's ability to play an effective role. As noted in the report of the Secretary-General (S/2010/447), the TFG is undergoing a very tense period. This situation must be quickly corrected. China supports the Djibouti

peace agreement. We hope that the TFG will duly resolve its internal problems and work to strengthen its role as a pole of attraction to the various political forces in Somalia. We sincerely hope that the various political factions in Somalia will place the interests of their country and their people above all other considerations and join the political reconciliation and negotiation processes.

We call on all relevant parties, including the countries of the region, to respect Somalia's sovereignty and territorial integrity and to support the TFG in order to facilitate early, substantive progress in the political reconciliation in Somalia.

We condemn the attacks launched against the TFG, the Somali people and AMISOM. We welcome the contributions of the Somali security forces and AMISOM to improving the security situation in Somalia. At present, the Somali security forces and AMISOM are facing serious funding gaps. China therefore calls on the international community to actively provide that assistance. China supports the deployment of United Nations peacekeeping operations in Somalia when the conditions are ripe.

The recent Istanbul Conference on Somalia demonstrated the greater understanding of the international community of the severity of the Somali issue. The African Union's contributions and tireless efforts to find a solution to the problem are indeed commendable. We call on the United Nations to further mobilize resources through various channels and to provide further practical assistance to AMISOM. It is our hope that countries will honour their commitments to assisting Somalia in a timely manner.

Two decades of war and strife in Somalia have seriously undermined the cause of peace in Africa. As an urgent matter, the international community must take early, effective action to gradually resolve the question of Somalia. In that respect, the Security Council should demonstrate a stronger sense of responsibility and purpose.

The African Union has designated 2010 the Year of Peace and Security in Africa. African countries are working tirelessly to resolve all the hot spot issues in Africa, and they maintain the fervent hope that the international community, especially the United Nations, will play a major role in finding a solution for Somalia. Here, I reiterate that in the interests of peace in Africa, China is ready to make its own contribution to finding a solution in Somalia. China is also ready to cooperate actively with the United Nations and all of the parties concerned on this matter.

Mr. Moungara Moussotsi (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): I, too, thank Ambassador Mahiga, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia, for his introduction of the Secretary-General's report (S/2010/447) on the latest developments in the political, security, humanitarian and human rights fields in Somalia. Permit me to also welcome the honourable Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya, His Excellency Mr. Moses Wetangula, to the Council and to thank him for his highly enriching and edifying statement.

The numerous meetings held by the Security Council on the matter of Somalia and other initiatives taken in this area, in particular the Istanbul Conference, demonstrate the international community's ongoing awareness of the Somali problem. Similarly, my delegation supports the convening this month of a mini-summit directed at further involving the United Nations in the Somalia stabilization process. My delegation believes that the new options proposed by the Secretary-General provide a good basis for discussions on a coordinated and lasting solution to this crisis.

This debate is being held at a time when Somalia has become the theatre of violence that has, regrettably, led to great loss of human life, including, yet again, among the soldiers of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). This upsurge in violence recalls the precarious security situation in a country that has faced numerous challenges for many years.

As my country has emphasized at previous meetings on this same subject, the resolution of the crisis in Somalia requires a three-pronged approach: security, institutional and humanitarian. Improving the security situation remains linked to strengthening the capacities of both the AMISOM and the Somali national security forces. While it is true that troop levels have considerably grown, reaching the 8,000 soldiers established in the mandate, it is urgent that the troops enjoy the financial, logistical and additional technical means that will allow them to counter the frequent military attacks orchestrated by the rebel movements.

Such assistance will also strengthen the authority of the Transitional Federal Government, above all at a

time when the Islamist militias are on the offensive, as demonstrated by the dual attack in Kampala on 11 July and the progressive advance of Al-Shabaab towards Mogadishu. In this context, we welcome the logistical support provided to date by the United Nations, which has significantly contributed to strengthening the operational capacities of AMISOM. We also welcome the support provided by the European Union to train 2,000 soldiers of the Somalia armed forces.

Furthermore, we support the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the remuneration of AMISOM troops be aligned with those of United Nations peacekeepers. Once enacted, this measure will contribute to strengthening motivation among AMISOM troops in the theatre of operations.

This is also an opportunity to pay particular tribute to Uganda and Burundi, whose commitment to restoring peace and stability in Somalia, at the cost of enormous human and material sacrifice, deserves recognition. The same applies to other countries, including the Republic of Guinea, which has announced a troop contribution to AMISOM.

Illicit arms circulation also fuels insecurity in Somalia. In that context, my delegation underscores the need to ensure the effective implementation of the sanctions imposed by the Council pursuant to resolutions 751 (1992) and 1907 (2009).

Institutional stability in Somalia will require strengthening the authority of the Transitional Federal Government. To that end, we support the Secretary-General's call on the international community to provide the military and financial aid necessary to strengthening the transitional federal institutions. My Government urges the Transitional Federal Government to pursue national reconciliation pursuant the Djibouti Agreement, which is the political basis for a resolution of the Somali crisis.

The Government's inclusion of three members of the Ahlu Sunnah Wal Jama'a movement following the last reorganization of the Government and the progress made in drafting a new constitution are important steps towards concluding the transitional phase. With a view to capitalizing on this progress, my delegation invites the members of the Government to rise above their differences for the sake of the higher interests of their country.

The humanitarian situation also remains of great concern. We have the moral duty to sustain and strengthen the efforts and cooperation of humanitarian workers on the ground, and to ensure that food aid is properly transported to its final destination.

The international community's attention to the overall situation in that country — that is, security problems on land and piracy off the coasts of Somalia — will contribute to establishing a lasting peace, not only throughout the country, but in the whole Horn of Africa.

My country, for its part, will continue to support the work of AMISOM, the involvement of the IGAD countries and the role of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia.

Mr. Mayr-Harting (Austria): At the outset, I would like to welcome Ambassador Augustine Mahiga as the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General. We thank him for his presentation and for the commitment he has already shown under truly challenging circumstances. I would also like to say that we welcomed the presentation by Foreign Minister Wetangula and would like to underline the key role that Kenya is playing in bringing stability to Somalia by accepting refugees as a basis for the activities of the international community and, more specifically, on the issue of piracy. We are also grateful to the Permanent Representative of Somalia for his statement.

I would like to join others in condemning the recent attacks of 9 September and the violence of recent weeks. Austria expresses its condolences to the victims and their families.

Let me underline that Austria fully aligns itself with the statement of the European Union that will be delivered later this morning. Let me now highlight a few additional points.

Austria would once again like to confirm its support for the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and for the continuation of the Djibouti peace process. We hope that the TFG, with the support of the international community, will be able to assume its responsibilities — namely, to build security and rule of law institutions and to embark on a reconciliation process — in unity. As others have already said, the transitional period comes to an end in August 2011, and we need a clear strategy for the remainder of this time.

We are deeply concerned about the devastating effect the conflict has on the civilian population and about the lack of respect for humanitarian principles. We call on all parties to permit the delivery of assistance and aid to those in need.

I would also like to reiterate our appreciation for the dedication and engagement of the many humanitarian workers who accept very high risks in order to alleviate the plight of the civilian population in Somalia. We call upon all parties to ensure the protection of civilians, in particular that of children, in compliance with human rights law and international humanitarian law.

Austria would like to reiterate its condemnation of the recruitment of children by all parties to the conflict and request that they be released immediately. In this regard, we encourage all parties to cooperate with the Working Group of the Security Council on Children and Armed Conflict, which is to begin its consultations on the situation in Somalia in October.

Concerning the surge in piracy, it is, as others have already said, not only important to consider piracy as a threat to key international shipping lanes at sea, but also necessary to consider its root causes and to see it as a factor further aggravating the security and humanitarian situation in Somalia. Austria therefore stresses the importance of determined activities to curb piracy in the region, as is also done through the European Union naval operation, Operation Atalanta.

Let me also underline our commitment, support and admiration for the important contribution of AMISOM, its troop-contributing countries, Uganda and Burundi, the United Nations support package for AMISOM and the substantial support by the European Union to AMISOM in bringing security and stability to the country.

We welcome the progress in the integration of United Nations operations, which will also ensure a coherent United Nations approach in Somalia. It is important to enhance the role of the United Nations in Somalia, specifically in coordinating and leading the efforts of the international community. We should also aim at creating more synergies between the TFG and the international community in Somalia and make more efficient use of already established mechanisms for coordination such as the High-level Committee and the Joint Security Committee.

In conclusion, we are looking forward to the summit on Somalia on 23 September that is to be convened by the Secretary-General. It will provide an opportunity to highlight the Security Council's firm support and commitment to the remaining tasks during the transitional period and to the stabilization of the situation in Somalia.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Turkey.

We too wish to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Mahiga, for introducing the report of the Secretary-General (S/2010/447). We welcome Mr. Moses Wetangula, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya, and thank him for his insightful statement. We also welcome the Permanent Representative of Somalia, Mr. Duale.

As others have emphasized, the challenges we face in Somalia are great and daunting. The political and security situation is critical. Terrorism, instability and the precarious humanitarian situation continue to cause grave concern. The Transitional Federal Government (TFG) has a great many things to achieve. For that, there is a need for a strong and determined Government and functional institutions. Therefore, the existing political disputes should be solved through dialogue so that the transitional agenda can be completed in a timely fashion.

We commend the crucial role played by the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) towards achieving stability in Somalia. We thank all troop- and police-contributing countries, especially Uganda and Burundi. We also welcome the efforts of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, including its decision to deploy additional troops under AMISOM.

AMISOM should be fully supported, so that it can effectively implement its mandate. Turkey shares the Secretary-General's view that the support package for AMISOM should be identical to the support provided to United Nations peacekeeping operations. On the other hand, one should not expect AMISOM to provide security on its own. It is also of crucial importance that the Somali security institutions be strengthened.

There is no military solution to the Somali question, and the only road to a peaceful future is through dialogue. The TFG, which Turkey fully

supports, should continue to pursue assertively its outreach policy vis-à-vis the opposition groups. Likewise, the TFG has to appeal to the hearts and minds of the Somali public so as to minimize the adverse effects of the propaganda machine of radical elements, which have their own agenda.

We strongly condemn the terrorist attacks in Kampala and Mogadishu. We should not let radical elements drive the Djibouti peace process.

Stability in Somalia can be consolidated only if the gains in the political and security fields are supported by reconstruction activities. The Istanbul Conference on Somalia laid out a broad perspective in that regard. The critical role played by Somalia's neighbours in promoting peace, security and development in Somalia and the region is undeniable. By reaffirming the principles of good-neighbourly relations and urging Somalia's partners to continue to support efforts towards that end, the Istanbul Conference also strongly emphasized that.

For the peace process to move forward in Somalia, the active involvement and leadership of the United Nations are crucial. In that regard, we welcome the determination and tireless efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Mahiga, to reinvigorate the process. We support him, and we are ready to work and cooperate with him. The increased presence of the United Nations in Somalia will no doubt help achieve the targets that have been set. We are encouraged by the strong commitment of the Secretary-General to that matter. The mini-summit that the Secretary-General will convene next week is a timely initiative in that respect.

Finally, with regard to the fight against piracy, we follow with satisfaction the work to date by the Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia. The issue is also high on the agenda of the Security Council, which very recently discussed the legal aspects of the issue (see S/PV.6374). We look forward to the report of the Secretary-General on piracy, which will be submitted in October.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Téte António, Permanent Observer of the African Union to the United Nations.

Mr. António (*spoke in French*): First, allow me, on behalf of the African Union, to thank you, Mr. President, for having convened this meeting, which gives our organization the opportunity to brief the Council once again on what the African Union is observing on the ground. It will also allow us to explain the challenges that we face in supporting the implementation of the peace process. In addition, this meeting clearly demonstrates the Security Council's commitment to remain fully seized of the situation in Somalia.

We welcome the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya and hail the pivotal role that his country is playing in the region, as well as the role played by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), acting in the region on behalf of the African Union.

We also welcome the briefing provided by Ambassador Mahiga, whom the African Group received yesterday. His statement to the Group and the discussions with his team fully convinced the Group that his efforts need the support not only of the Group he visited yesterday, but of the entire international community, so that results can be seen on the ground. We know his commitment to the continent, and we have known him as a colleague in New York. We think that one could not find a better person — one who knows not only the issues, but also the Organization — for this position on Somalia. But Mr. Mahiga is only one part of our driving force, and without our driving force, that part could not function.

Since May, when Mr. Ramtane Lamamra, Commissioner for Peace and Security of the African Union Commission, described the situation in Somalia to the Security Council (see S/PV.6313), we have seen a number of positive and less positive developments on the ground that have had an impact on the peace process. I will speak briefly about those developments before turning my attention to the way in which the African Union has approached the problems and challenges associated with them.

On the political front, as other delegations have said, the process of adopting a new constitution drafted by the Independent Federal Constitution Commission continues despite the tensions caused by differences among leaders of the transitional federal institutions. The Special Representative of the African Union for Somalia, Ambassador Boubacar Diarra, the Special

Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia and the IGAD Facilitator for Somalia Peace and Reconciliation are talking with the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) with a view to reaching greater harmony and cohesion among the transitional federal institutions to help adopt more positive measures likely to facilitate achieving the tasks foreseen for the transitional period, which will end on 20 August 2011.

Security remains volatile. The Al-Shabaab and Hizbul Islam groups continue to carry out indiscriminate attacks against the positions of the TFG and the African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM) in Mogadishu and the surrounding areas, causing many civilian casualties. However, AMISOM remains firmly entrenched in all strategic points, including Villa Somalia, the airport, the port and Kilometre 4. Recently, it has gained ground and slightly widened its zone of influence by deploying its forces at new strategic points in the Bondere and Abdiaziz districts of Mogadishu.

As other delegations have underscored, the humanitarian situation too continues to deteriorate in Mogadishu and in other parts of Somalia, while fighting among the various armed groups continues. Thousands of civilians are directly affected by the violence, which is increasingly causing casualties and displaced persons, who urgently need humanitarian assistance. The humanitarian agencies have extremely limited access owing to the widespread insecurity, intimidation, harassment and attacks perpetrated by armed groups, in particular Al-Shabaab.

Against that very complex background, I would like to report that the situation in Somalia has received the highest political attention both in the region and on the continent. As the delegations who spoke before me have emphasized, the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the African Union, held in Kampala, at its closure reaffirmed its full support for Somalia's Transitional Federal Government and resolutely condemned the attacks and other acts of violence perpetrated by Al-Shabaab and other terrorist groups against the TFG, the Somali population and AMISOM, as well as the attacks in Kampala, Uganda, on 11 July. Moreover, the Conference endorsed the decisions contained in the Communiqué of the fifteenth Extraordinary Summit of the Heads of State and Government of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, held in Addis Ababa on 5 July 2010, aimed at enabling AMISOM to achieve the authorized level of its personnel of 8,100 men. And this morning, we heard that reviewing this figure upwards is being considered.

In implementing the mandate conferred on it by the Conference of Heads of State, the Commission has begun to plan new deployment phases for AMISOM. That process, including drawing up new strategic directives and a concept of operations for AMISOM, has necessitated consultations with partners, including the United Nations, and will soon be completed. The results of that process will be submitted to the Council once they have been endorsed by the Peace and Security Council of the African Union.

As we finalize the planning of new deployment phases for AMISOM, allow me to draw attention to a number of challenges that we are already facing today.

Security Council resolution 1863 (2009) of 16 January 2009 authorized a "logistical support package to AMISOM, including equipment and services" (*para. 10*). The operational aspects of that logistical support package provided to AMISOM, as noted in a letter from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2008/804), will be funded through regular contributions from States Members of the United Nations. Other United Nations support measures for AMISOM, including reimbursement for the contingents' logistical arrangements, come from the special United Nations Trust Fund for AMISOM.

Member States are making generous contributions to the Fund and we thank them for that. At the same time, we need to find a solution to a number of conditions imposed by donors banning the use of funds in certain critical areas. With some rare exceptions, those restrictions, as some delegations have noted, have largely curbed expenditures in the military components of AMISOM. AMISOM continues to be subject to significant financial restrictions that prevent it from being operationally effective, which could discourage new troop contributors.

It is therefore vital that AMISOM financing be not only sufficient but also predictable and sustainable, and that cannot be guaranteed unless the regular budget is used to cover all key operational elements of AMISOM, including military equipment and implements of war deployed by troop-contributing countries in the highly precarious security environment of Somalia.

Obviously, the situation in Somalia poses a threat to international peace and security. Unrestrained piracy and the bomb attacks of 11 July, mentioned by many delegations, show the extent to which insecurity in Somalia has a profound impact beyond its borders. A firm response from the international community is necessary. The commitments made by the African Union to re-establish peace and security in Somalia need international support. I therefore urge the Council to consider authorizing all possible cooperation and collaboration between AMISOM and United Nations operations under way in the region in order to deliver personnel and air and maritime logistical support for AMISOM.

Let me now speak briefly about the problem of civilian casualties. The humanitarian community is expressing growing concern over the high number of casualties resulting from the fighting in Mogadishu between insurgents and Government forces. Some organizations and media have repeatedly accused AMISOM of blindly looting civilian zones in Mogadishu in reaction to attacks from Al-Shabaab insurgents in those neighbourhoods. These accusations are launched by the Al-Shabaab propaganda machine. In that regard, AMISOM is working closely with its partners, including the United Nations Support Office for AMISOM, to develop an active communication strategy targeted to counter this manoeuvre. Moreover, AMISOM and the United Nations country team agree in principle on the establishment of a working group to share information on the situation of civilian casualties and to adopt practical measures to deal with the different concerns.

In conclusion, let me reiterate the African Union's determination to assume its fair share of the responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, working closely with the Council, Member States and all our international partners in seeking and implementing our common goal — a Somalia that is stable and at peace. However, we must emphasize that AMISOM needs sufficient, predictable and lasting resources, as I have indicated. Without sufficient and predictable resources, AMISOM will not be able to guarantee the security conditions necessary to allow the Transitional Federal Government to complete its transitional tasks, including the development of Somali security forces and the establishment of conditions conducive to stability and development in Somalia.

Finally, I commend the statement made by the representative of Somalia. I would especially like to welcome the partnership to be developed among the African Union, the United Nations and IGAD. In the meantime, we will have to give substance to these partnerships. We clearly heard Mr. Mahiga when he talked about the attacks that took place during his trip to Somalia in the company of the representatives of IGAD and the African Union. Clearly, we are united through thick and thin. But we also have to give substance to these partnerships, and that substance will come only from firm action from the Council, from all States Members of the United Nations and from all partners working for Somalia — and above all with the help of Somalia itself.

The President: I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Pedro Serrano, head of the delegation of the European Union to the United Nations.

Mr. Serrano: The candidate countries Turkey, Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; the countries of the Stabilization and Association Process and potential candidates Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia; as well as Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova align themselves with this declaration.

Let me start by thanking the Foreign Minister of Kenya and the Ambassador of Somalia for their important statements. I also wish to warmly welcome Ambassador Mahiga and to express the full support of the European Union (EU) for his crucial mission.

The European Union strongly condemns the Al-Shabaab deadly attacks on Mogadishu's airport on 9 September, during which several people, including African Union peacekeepers, lost their lives.

Despite all the efforts of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the international community, the security situation in Somalia remains fragile. The transitional federal institutions are continuously facing serious challenges to their efforts to improve security, to strengthen the political process and to intensify institution-building, as well as to deliver minimum basic services to the Somali people.

Somalia is now entering a critical phase, with the transitional period culminating in less than a year in August 2011, while the Djibouti Agreement has yet to be fully implemented. It is imperative that the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) urgently take

the necessary steps in order to address the outstanding priority transitional tasks and intensify its outreach efforts. The consultative process that should take place to win broad-based popular support for a new constitution will provide an opportunity to reach out on substantive issues of concern for the future prospects of Somalia.

The most recent Al-Shabaab terrorist attacks on Mogadishu Airport, aiming at a high-level meeting of United Nations, African Union and Somali officials taking place there, and previous attacks in Kampala in July and in Mogadishu in August pose a serious threat not only to the security situation in Somalia, but also to the wider region and all international actors. The peace process in Somalia must continue despite all the attempts to derail it by an increasingly well-organized and violent minority.

Together with international partners, the European Union has long been engaged in supporting a peaceful and sustainable solution to the Somali crisis. The European Union assists in stabilizing Somalia by providing support to such priority areas as the security sector — including support to the Somali police force — as well as the training of military personnel, humanitarian and development assistance to the population and capacity-building support. In addition the European Union is largely involved in the ongoing naval operations against piracy through deployment of its Operation Atalanta forces. The European Union and its member States continue to constitute the largest donor to Somalia. It is, however, important to underline that the role of the European Union is only to assist. The main responsibility for Somalia's future lies with the Somalis themselves, and the role and initiatives of the TFG will be decisive for Somalia's future. Without a credible and inclusive Somali-owned political process, gains will be short-lived.

The European Union, in line with the United Nations and the main international partners, considers AMISOM to be a crucial element in supporting and protecting the Transitional Federal Institutions and to help them carry out their responsibilities. AMISOM contributes to the provision of the much-needed security to allow the TFG to undertake dialogue, reconciliation and political outreach. Since 2007, the European Union contribution to AMISOM has amounted to €95 million, to which we have recently added a further €47 million. The European Union reiterates its call on the broader international community to follow its lead and do more to support both the Somali security apparatus and AMISOM.

We recognize that security support is essential, but we understand well that there can be no purely military solution in Somalia. Whilst we support the imperative to get AMISOM to its mandated strength, such a capacity needs to be matched by corresponding and parallel political efforts by both the international community and, above all, by the TFG itself.

The European Union fully supports the current peace process led by the United Nations in Somalia. However, the international coordination urgently needs further improvement. Specifically, there is a need for stronger United Nations leadership of the international efforts, as well as closer cooperation with the African Union. The European Union calls for more effective use of the current mechanisms of coordination between the international community and the TFG, such as the High-Level Committee and the Joint Security Committee.

As for the fight against piracy, we have recently dedicated a specific session to that instance. Therefore, let me simply take this opportunity to reiterate the need for the international community to devote more attention to reversing the socio-economic drivers that feed the scourge of piracy. The European Union commends the work done so far by the Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia and calls for an increased coordination by the United Nations on the issue of the fight against piracy on land. The European Union will continue to support the region's own leadership and efforts in finding solutions to counter piracy by helping the regional countries to develop their judicial capabilities, as envisaged in the Djibouti Code of Conduct. We invite the States of the region to make use of this offer.

In conclusion, the European Union reiterates its commitment to improving the lives, dignity and security of the Somali people, to foster reconciliation, to support human rights and good governance, to increase access to basic services, to initiate reconstruction activities, and foremost to help set Somalia firmly on the path to peace and sustainable development. In this respect, we call on the Transitional Federal Government to strengthen its efforts to address these considerable political, economic and security challenges. As the transitional period will end in less than a year, we call on the

United Nations and the TFG to immediately start working on a road map for the most urgently needed measures to be taken before August 2011 in order to avoid a prolongation of the transitional period.

Securing peace in Somalia may not be easy and will certainly demand considerable resources, but it is an effort worth of making, and one that we must make — not only for Somalia, but for peace and stability in the region, and indeed, in a very real sense, for world security.

The President: I give the floor to the representative of Norway.

Mrs. Smith (Norway): I join others in thanking Special Representative Mahiga for his thorough and comprehensive briefing.

Norway joins the Secretary-General and other Member States in strongly condemning the recent terrorist attacks carried out by extremist groups against the peacekeepers of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and innocent civilians in Mogadishu and Kampala.

In spite of the commendable efforts made by AMISOM under extremely difficult circumstances, we have to face the fact that the situation in Mogadishu is still fragile. And the same may also be said about the Transitional Federal Government (TFG). The threat posed by militant and extremist groups to other countries in the region underlines that what is happening in Somalia is also a serious threat to peace and security in the wider international community. It is therefore important for the Security Council to take appropriate action to boost the strength and the operational capability of AMISOM.

The main victims of the ongoing war of attrition in Mogadishu and other parts of Somalia are, of course, the Somali people, who have been compelled to live under the direst conditions for such a long time. As long as the present situation continues, there is little hope for any improvement, and those who are able to do so are fleeing Mogadishu with their families. Norway, together with other donors, is seeking to provide humanitarian assistance, but access is often difficult.

As regards piracy, Norway wishes to thank all the countries that are currently contributing to the naval capacities in the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. At the same time, we note with concern that the prosecution of captured pirates remains insufficient and sporadic, despite our collective efforts.

Even if AMISOM should be significantly strengthened, a lasting solution to the conflict in Somalia can be achieved only by political means. Norway remains a strong supporter of the Djibouti process and the efforts to reach out and integrate those groups that are not yet party to the peace process. We believe this should be vigorously pursued. At the same time, it is vital that the TFG get its act together and show a unity of purpose. The internal dispute over political positions is seriously undermining not only security, but also any efforts to achieve peace.

Norway will continue to support the transitional federal institutions of Somalia, in particular the ongoing constitutional process. With only one more year left in the transitional period, time is now highly limited if we are to find a lasting solution in Somalia.

The President: I give the floor to the representative of Algeria.

Mr. Benmehidi (Algeria): At the outset, I should like to congratulate and thank you, Mr. President, for convening this important debate on the situation in Somalia. I would also like to congratulate Ambassador Augustine Mahiga on his appointment as Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia. I thank him for his opening remarks, which provided further insights into the significant challenges in Somalia, and assure him of the full support of Algeria in his new and challenging mission. I should also like to commend the Secretary-General for producing a comprehensive and thoughtful report (S/2010/447) pursuant to resolution 1910 (2010), which provides an update on main developments in Somalia.

Algeria has always been firmly attached to a comprehensive and lasting settlement of the situation in Somalia based on respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and national unity. As a concrete contribution, Algeria provided the logistical airlift support for the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) troops. At the International Conference on Somalia, held in Istanbul in May 2010, a high-level Algerian delegation participated to renew my country's commitment towards peace and reconstruction in Somalia. Algeria also supported the decision of the African Union summit, held in Kampala from 25 to 27 July, to deploy additional troops for strengthening AMISOM.

As Somalia's transitional period approaches its end, my delegation shares the concern of the Secretary-General, as highlighted also by his Special Representative, that the transitional agenda remains largely unfulfilled. It is time for the Transitional Federal Institutions to show determination to complete the transitional tasks. We note the Secretary-General's assessment in his report that the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) needs to develop credible Government structures to deliver services to its people. As suggested by the Secretary-General, we encourage the TFG to make more effort to implement the Djibouti Agreement, which should remain open to all Somalis seeking peace, reconciliation and development.

My delegation shares the Secretary-General's concern about the substantial resource gaps in United Nations funding for AMISOM, which continue to hinder the effectiveness of the Mission and could discourage potential troop contributors. In addition, AMISOM forces should be provided more effective operational logistics in order to strengthen their capacity.

We lend our support to an integrated, coherent United Nations approach to the challenges confronting Somalia, and welcome the Secretary-General's intention to take further steps towards establishing an integrated United Nations presence in Somalia. Algeria is pleased to note the increased level of coordination between the United Nations and the African Union.

Algeria considers that responsibility for maintaining international peace and security lies with the United Nations. We still believe that the Security Council has a critical role to play in Somalia and that the United Nations should provide a stronger mandate and more resources to those willing to assist Somalia, particularly the African Union. It is imperative that the international community provide political, financial and economic support to Somalia commensurate with the magnitude of the challenges facing that country.

In conclusion, Algeria pledges its continuing support for AMISOM, the African Union and the United Nations in their efforts to bring peace and stability to Somalia and a prosperous future for the Somali people.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Ethiopia.

Mr. Bame (Ethiopia): I would like to express my delegation's gratitude to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for his comprehensive report on Somalia (S/2010/447), and my deep appreciation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Mahiga, for his efforts to engage with the main actors in the peace process. I would also like to thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya for his detailed briefing on developments in Somalia and on the concrete efforts of the subregional organizations, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the African Union, in stabilizing that country.

Ethiopia has been doing whatever is necessary to ensure the success of the peace process in Somalia. Our regional organization, IGAD, supports the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in its endeavours to ensure peace and stability in Somalia. IGAD underlines once again the critical need to provide the financial and logistical support to enable the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) to reach its authorized level of 8,100 troops.

The African Union Assembly, demonstrating its commitment to peace in Somalia, endorsed the decisions of the IGAD heads of State and Government in July, including the decision to deploy an additional 2,000 peacekeepers to AMISOM immediately. My delegation would like to stress the need for concerted effort on the part of the international community to assist the African Union in increasing its forces to the level necessary to enable AMISOM to carry out its mandated peacekeeping activities. Nevertheless, the ultimate solution is to transform AMISOM into a United Nations peacekeeping force.

Ethiopia calls for concrete action by the Security Council aimed at stabilizing Somalia permanently by helping the TFG and AMISOM to bring normalcy to that war-ravaged nation. The international community must continue to assist the TFG, the only legitimate body that can bring sustainable peace, which must be encouraged to show itself able to work credibly with its partners and to deliver results. No one can pretend that deploying military forces in isolation can resolve Somalia's problems. IGAD, Somalia's neighbouring States, the African Union and the TFG have all been working to move the political process forward.

Ethiopia believes that the transitional federal institutions should work to strengthen internal cohesion while avoiding the tensions to which the country has

been prone in the past, obstructing the implementation of the Transitional Federal Charter. We believe that the political leaders should resolve disputes among themselves and take tangible steps towards the fulfilment of their commitments through genuine consultation and dialogue. We applaud the commendable and tangible results achieved thus far, one of which has been the broadening of the peace process in order to bring on board others who are prepared to work for peace and stability in Somalia.

It is important to ensure that the training of security forces is conducted in a more organized and coherent way, restructuring the TFG's security institutions by making them more effective and manageable, with proper command-and-control structures. My delegation, while recognizing the constructive consultations between the TFG and Ahlu Sunnah Wal Jama'a, encourages the leadership of the TFG to show the necessary determination to resolve to work together. It is necessary to acknowledge that the TFG has consistently made it clear that it is prepared to talk to any and all groups that reject extremism and violence. The United Nations should work to maintain unity within the TFG.

Somalia continues to be the most dangerous threat to regional and international security, due to the failure of the international community to take timely action when Al-Shabaab succeeded in galvanizing the support of its partners. Ethiopia condemns the terrorist attacks on civilians in Kampala and Mogadishu by Al-Shabaab and its supporters. We would like to emphasize that the Security Council must not abandon Somalis to international terrorism. Al-Shabaab and its allies, who are closely linked to Al-Qaida, must be defeated. The United Nations and the regional organizations and countries involved should move forward in the struggle against the international terrorist networks.

The Council is fully aware of Eritrea's support for extremist groups such as Al-Shabaab and Hizbul Islam, which continue to enjoy substantial Eritrean military and logistical backing. There is explicit evidence of Eritrea's continued involvement in the transfer of weapons to Somalia. Eritrea has yet to be deterred from violating the Council's resolutions in its ongoing support for terrorists and efforts to destabilize countries in the region.

Ethiopia considers that any investigation of human rights violations in Somalia should be undertaken within the mandate of the Human Rights Council, and particularly by the Independent Expert on the human rights situation in Somalia. We believe that the efforts at the United Nations level to fight impunity within the Djibouti peace process should be Somali-owned.

In conclusion, my delegation reiterates that the Council should work to re-hat AMISOM to United Nations peacekeeping operations.

The President: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.6387

Security Council

Sixty-fifth year

Provisional

6387th meeting

Friday, 17 September 2010, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Apakan	(Turkey)
Members:	Austria	Mr. Mayr-Harting
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Mr. Vukašinović
	Brazil	Mrs. Viotti
	China	Mr. Wang Min
	France	Mr. Briens
	Gabon	Mr. Moungara Moussotsi
	Japan	Mr. Miyajima
	Lebanon	Mr. Assaf
	Mexico	Mr. Heller
	Nigeria	Mr. Onemola
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Uganda	Mr. Rugunda
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America	Ms. Anderson

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

10-53846 (E)

Please recycle

The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the consideration of the item, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ileka (Democratic Republic of the Congo) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council reiterates its strong condemnation of mass rapes which occurred in the East of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in late July and August, reaffirming its resolutions 1820 (2008), 1882 (2009), 1888 (2009), 1894 (2009) and 1925 (2010) and recalling its statements to the press on 26 August and 8 and 9 September, the Security Council urges the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to ensure a swift and fair prosecution of the perpetrators of these terrible crimes and to inform the Security Council on measures undertaken to this end.

"The Security Council expresses its readiness to consider all appropriate actions, including targeted measures against the perpetrators.

"The Security Council stresses the primary responsibility of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for ensuring security in its territory and protecting its civilians with respect for the rule of law, human rights and international humanitarian law.

"The Security Council calls upon the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to condemn these atrocities, to provide effective assistance to the victims of sexual abuse, to support efforts undertaken by all relevant stakeholders, including civil society, to protect and assist the victims and to prevent further violence.

"The Security Council reiterates its urgent call to the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in cooperation with the United Nations and other relevant actors, to put an end to impunity; in particular, those bearing responsibility for gross human rights violations must be held to account. The Security Council is determined to support the Congolese authorities in addressing the root causes of the above incidents.

"The Security Council stresses that the fight against impunity is an integral part of the urgently needed reform of the security sector. It encourages the Congolese authorities to pursue their efforts with the support of relevant multilateral and bilateral donors and the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) within its current mandate, to strengthen its military capacity, to reinforce the training and equipment of the Congolese National Police and to enhance the capacities of the justice and corrections systems.

"The Security Council takes note with interest of the recommendations made by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations to enhance efforts to protect and defend civilians and improve MONUSCO's impact in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

"The Security Council underlines the need for MONUSCO to improve relations with communities, including through better information-gathering mechanisms and communication tools. In that regard, the Security

Council urges MONUSCO to pursue efforts to enhance its regular interaction with the civilian population to strengthen confidence and raise awareness and understanding about its mandate and activities. It draws attention to the importance of increased community liaison, increased patrolling and appropriate communication equipment in needed areas.

"The Security Council supports the launch by MONUSCO and the United Nations country team of a sensitization campaign, including through Radio Okapi, to encourage victims of sexual violence to report and to seek treatment and legal assistance.

"The Security Council reaffirms its resolve to eliminate all forms of violence against women and children during and after armed conflict. It supports the work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, and encourages her to regularly interact with MONUSCO's sexual violence unit to coordinate the United Nations response and monitor the implementation of the United Nations comprehensive strategy on combating sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Security Council looks forward to her trip to the country later this month and requests a briefing upon her return.

"The Security Council requests a briefing by the Secretary-General on MONUSCO's strategy for the protection of civilians and the overall challenges the Mission faces in implementing this strategy. The Security Council continues to support a comprehensive approach to the protection of civilians and to ensuring peace and security in the region, in particular efforts to accelerate the effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of Congolese armed groups and the disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, resettlement and reintegration of foreign armed groups, to fighting against the illegal exploitation of natural resources and to establishing effective State authority and strengthening the rule of law in conflict-affected areas."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2010/17.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 10.20 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.6388

Security Council

Sixty-fifth year

Provisional

6388th meeting

Friday, 17 September 2010, 10.20 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Apakan	(Turkey)
Members:	Austria	Mr. Mayr-Harting
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Mr. Barbalić
	Brazil	Mrs. Viotti
	China	Mr. Wang Min
	France	Mr. Briens
	Gabon	Mr. Moungara Moussotsi
	Japan	Mr. Miyajima
	Lebanon	Mr. Salam
	Mexico	Mr. Heller
	Nigeria	Mr. Onemola
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Uganda	Mr. Rugunda
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America	Ms. Anderson

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

10-53852 (E)

Please recycle

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Robert Serry, Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process and Personal Representative of the Secretary-General.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Serry to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Robert Serry. I now give the floor to Mr. Serry.

Mr. Serry: We are at a moment of renewed hope in the search for peace in the Middle East. After months of proximity talks, Prime Minister Netanyahu and President Abbas came together on 1 and 2 September in Washington D.C., under the auspices of President Obama and Secretary Clinton, to launch direct Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, and conducted a second round of talks on 14 September in Sharm el-Sheikh and 15 September in Jerusalem with the participation of Secretary Clinton. The Secretary-General commends the leaders on these important first steps, thanks President Obama, Secretary Clinton and Envoy Mitchell for their commitment, and welcomes the personal support to the process of President Mubarak of Egypt and King Abdullah of Jordan.

Prior to the talks, the Quartet reaffirmed on 20 August its full commitment to its previous statements, including on 19 March in Moscow, and provided that direct, bilateral negotiations that resolve all final status issues should

> "lead to a settlement, negotiated between the parties, that ends the occupation which began in 1967 and results in the emergence of an independent, democratic and viable Palestinian State living side by side in peace and security with Israel and its other neighbours".

The Quartet also expressed its determination to support the parties throughout the negotiations, which can be completed within one year, and the implementation of an agreement.

In Washington D.C., Prime Minister Netanyahu affirmed that President Abbas was his partner for peace, while President Abbas condemned violence and stated his desire to see a permanent end to the conflict. The leaders agreed to seek a solution based on two States for two peoples. They agreed that the negotiations could be completed within one year and that their aim was to resolve issues concerning borders, security, refugees, Jerusalem and all other core issues. They decided to meet every fortnight and to work on a framework agreement on permanent status. This would be not an interim agreement, but one that would embody the fundamental compromises necessary to achieving a comprehensive peace treaty to end the conflict and establish a lasting peace between Israel and the Palestinians, creating a democratic and viable Palestinian State alongside a secure State of Israel. In the second round of talks, the leaders began a serious discussion of the core issues.

On 31 August, as the leaders were preparing to launch negotiations, four Israelis were killed at near point-blank range while driving in a car in Area C of the West Bank. This attack was widely condemned. Hamas claimed responsibility for it and for a subsequent attack using similar methods on 1 September that injured two other Israelis. I commend the reaction of both leaders to this attack. President Abbas condemned it, and Palestinian security forces conducted interrogations and arrested four individuals allegedly involved. Prime Minister Netanyahu moved ahead with direct talks, stating that, while Israel seeks security guarantees, it will not allow terrorists to deter it from pursuing peace. It continues to be important that the parties each act to rein in extremists on their own side who will seek to undermine the political process.

I strongly remind Hamas that the path of non-violence, Palestinian unity and acceptance of basic principles of the peace process is the only one through

which legitimate Palestinian aspirations can be attained.

Nine and a half months ago, Prime Minister Netanyahu commendably instituted a partial settlement restraint, which has had a positive impact on the ground. The Secretary-General joins President Obama, Secretary Clinton and European Union foreign ministers in calling for an extension of the moratorium beyond its scheduled expiry at the end of this month. Indeed, we reaffirm the United Nations position that settlements are illegal under international law and the Quartet's call on Israel to freeze all settlement activity, including natural growth, in accordance with the Road Map. We count on the continued leadership of Prime Minister Netanyahu and President Abbas to refrain from provocative actions and to work as partners to create an environment conducive to successful negotiations.

I also stress the importance of the regional context. I encourage concrete steps of support from regional countries as the process moves forward. I also encourage Israel and Syria, and Lebanon too, to respond positively to efforts to explore the way forward on the regional tracks of the peace process. All parties should work to realize the full promise of the Arab Peace Initiative.

To review progress in the Israeli-Palestinian talks and in the overall search for a just and lasting peace in the region, the Secretary-General will host Quartet principals on 21 September — next Tuesday — followed by a meeting with members of the League of Arab States Follow-Up Committee on the Arab Peace Initiative.

Members of the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee will also meet in New York on 21 September to review progress and chart the way ahead in the economic and institution-building sphere. I draw to the Council's attention the conclusion of the World Bank in its report for the Committee's meeting that "if the Palestinian Authority maintains its current performance in institution-building and delivery of public services, it is well-positioned for the establishment of a State at any point in the near future". I strongly share that assessment.

On 29 August, the Palestinian Authority (PA) presented its "Homestretch to Freedom" document, which charts the path to the completion by August 2011 of the Palestinian Authority's two-year agenda of ensuring institutional readiness for statehood. It commits to concrete deliverables, clear roles and responsibilities, and transparency and accountability for results. It also provides direction and focus for international assistance. To sustain this agenda, the PA's recurrent budgetary needs and a mounting liquidity crisis must be urgently addressed. I welcome recent commitments from donors of additional funding and encourage further commitments in order to meet the remaining critical gap in external financing.

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund report solid economic growth in the West Bank and Gaza this year, with growth for 2010 conservatively projected at 8 per cent. In the West Bank, private sector confidence continued to be bolstered by sound PA management and reforms supported by donor aid, improvements in security conditions, and fewer controls on the internal movement of goods and people than in early 2009. However, the World Bank warns that unless action is taken in the near future to address the remaining obstacles to private sector development and sustainable growth, the PA will remain donor-dependent and its institutions, no matter how robust, will not be able to underpin a viable State. This means that, as the PA seeks to roll out the basis for its State, measures of occupation must be rolled back.

In this regard, we continue to urge a reduction in incursions, a further easing of obstacles to movement and the expansion of the security remit of the Palestinian Authority. The number of obstacles to movement throughout the West Bank remained roughly constant at around 500, which is about 70 fewer than at the beginning of the year. Citing security concerns, Israeli security forces injured 22 Palestinians and arrested 162 in 279 incursions in the West Bank, in which six Israeli soldiers were also injured. Today, Israeli forces killed a Hamas militant in an operation in the West Bank city of Tulkarem.

Several demolition and eviction orders are pending against Palestinian communities in Area C and we urge the Israeli authorities not to implement those orders or issue new ones.

The situation in East Jerusalem was largely quiet during the reporting period. A deplorable exception occurred on 26 August, when a reported attempt by Israeli settlers to forcefully enter a mosque in the East Jerusalem neighbourhood of Silwan triggered clashes

between Palestinian demonstrators and Israeli police forces.

The status of the four Palestinian Legislative Council members from the Hamas-affiliated Change and Reform bloc remains unresolved, and we urge a sensible resolution of this unsustainable situation. While Ramadan passed in the city without major disturbances, the majority of the Palestinian population continues to be unable to access Friday prayers at holy sites in East Jerusalem. However, access to the city was more orderly this year than in previous months of Ramadan, and on average some 80,000 people crossed the four authorized checkpoints from the West Bank into East Jerusalem on Fridays during Ramadan.

I remain heavily engaged with the parties in seeking to shift dynamics regarding Gaza, within the framework of resolution 1860 (2009). In this regard, a recent upsurge in violence is alarming and can only set back efforts to make progress in Gaza. During the reporting period, Palestinian militant groups fired 10 rockets and 22 mortars from Gaza into Israel, injuring two Israelis and hitting close to residential areas in southern Israel. Israeli forces conducted 10 air strikes and 18 incursions into Gaza, killing seven Palestinians and injuring four others. Three Palestinians also died in tunnel-related incidents.

In a tragic incident on 12 September that raises serious concerns, Israeli tank fire killed three Palestinian civilians. The Israel Defense Forces subsequently acknowledged that the three may not have been involved in militant activities. I strongly reiterate my call for full observance by all parties of their obligations regarding the protection of civilians under international humanitarian law and for observance of calm.

I am also deeply concerned at the continued denial of the basic human rights of Israeli Staff Sergeant Shalit, to whom no international access has been granted despite more than four years in solitary detention. We reiterate our call for access and for his release.

During the reporting period, an average of 988 truckloads entered Gaza from Israel per week — a slight decrease over the previous period and about half of the weekly levels before June 2007. Most imports were food items, but some raw materials and machinery used by industries also entered. Movement of people remained severely restricted. Tunnel trade has dropped in items being provided through Israeli crossings, but continues in other items. Egypt continued its effort to counter the smuggling of weapons, closing a number of tunnels, uncovering militant structures and missiles in the Sinai, and making arrests. The Rafah crossing remained open for humanitarian purposes and transfer to other countries for foreign visa holders and for religious pilgrimage.

The partial easing of the Israeli blockade has helped generate 16 per cent growth in Gaza in the first half of this year. There are now 1,365 industrial establishments operating in Gaza, up from 117 in 2008, but still only a third of the 3,900 that were operating before June 2007. While some progress has therefore been made, restrictions on the entry of construction materials and on exports are severely limiting private reconstruction and the revival of the private sector. I believe that it is possible and desirable for more to be done to ease these constraints, as well as to enable Gazans to move more freely, consistent with legitimate Israeli security concerns. I continue to support efforts to enhance the presence of the Palestinian Authority at crossings.

I am pleased that genuine headway has been made in approvals of international projects in Gaza, and I appreciate Israel's cooperation in this regard. Israel approved $100 million of construction works in Gaza in the first six months of 2010, just under $60 million of which were for United Nations projects. Since the announcement of its revised policy on Gaza in June, Israeli authorities have approved 31 further construction projects, including $15 million for projects of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA).

The United Nations continues to consult closely with the Palestinian Authority on priority areas of work necessary in Gaza, and has now presented to the Government of Israel a 12-month programme of construction and reconstruction work worth $250 million. I expect that this programme of work will receive timely approval by the Israeli authorities and that the procedures for the entry of material will be simplified to enable implementation.

Regarding the cargo from three vessels of the 31 May flotilla, arrangements have now been finalized for the use of the construction materials in United Nations projects in Gaza. I underscore the exceptional

nature of this arrangement. We continue to believe that the appropriate way to meet needs in Gaza is through legitimate crossings.

The United Nations has actively supported local efforts to resolve internal Palestinian differences over electricity revenue collection, which have been causing heavy electricity shortages. Following an understanding reached last month, revenues collected from electricity bills have been transferred to the Palestinian Authority to purchase fuel for the Gaza power plant. As a result, power cuts were reduced by about a half.

I am concerned at the purported approval of legislation by the de facto authorities in Gaza that will undermine the independence of a national human rights institution operating in Gaza. Since the last monthly briefing to the Council (see PV.6340), the Secretary-General's Panel of Inquiry on the 31 May 2010 flotilla incident has convened for the second time, on 2 and 3 September. On 15 September, the Secretary-General received the initial progress report he requested from the Panel. This report was largely procedural in nature, explaining the Panel's understanding of the tasks at hand and the working methods it has unanimously adopted in order to carry out its mandate.

The Panel indicated that it had received an interim report with annexes and related material from Turkey on the progress with respect to its national investigation. The Panel agreed that it would discuss and review the interim reports, once it had also received a report from Israel. The Secretary-General stated that he looked forward to the Panel's substantive treatment of the flotilla incident. He was encouraged that the Panel reported that it had conducted its proceedings in a positive and collegial atmosphere.

I have already stressed the importance of progress towards regional peace. On the ground, the situation in the occupied Syrian Golan remained stable, although settlement activity continued. I am pleased to report that, during the reporting period, a delegation of 220 women and 480 men received permits from Israel to visit families in Syria.

Turning to the situation in Lebanon, clashes broke out on 24 August in the Beirut neighbourhood of Burj Abi Haidar between supporters of Hizbullah and of Al-Ahbash, a Sunni group. Three people, including a senior Hizbullah official, were killed in street battles, which rapidly spread to surrounding areas and lasted for several hours. Leaders of Al-Ahbash travelled to Damascus the day after the incident and subsequently met with Hizbullah leaders. Both sides agreed that the confrontation should be regarded as an isolated incident that they vowed would not be repeated. An investigation into the clashes, which led to the arrest of at least 23 individuals, is ongoing. In response to the incident, the Lebanese Cabinet announced a reinforcement of the presence of the Lebanese Armed Forces and the internal security forces in Beirut.

Prime Minister Hariri travelled to Damascus on 29 August for a meeting with President Al-Assad. Over the past month, there has been increased political tension in Lebanon, linked to speculation on prospective potential indictments that the Special Tribunal for Lebanon might issue. The National Dialogue met again on 19 August. Participants agreed to pursue discussions on the national defence strategy and to meet again on 19 October.

The amendments to the employment legislation adopted by the Lebanese Parliament on 18 August represent a step in the right direction in terms of providing Palestinians in Lebanon with greater rights. The United Nations looks forward to the practical application of those new entitlements, under the leadership of the Lebanese Ministry of Labour. The changes, although crucial, will need to be complemented by further steps to lift Palestinians out of poverty.

Funding shortfalls for the reconstruction of the Nahr el-Bared camp remain an issue of serious concern, with 64 per cent of the total funds needed for the complete reconstruction of the camp still outstanding. We urge donors to remain committed to providing generous financial support for the reconstruction efforts, as well as for UNRWA's work throughout the region.

Turning to the situation in the area of operations of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), on 3 September an explosion occurred on the first floor of a house in the village of Shehabiyeh, causing a fire in two rooms of the house and an adjacent garage. UNIFIL immediately launched an investigation into the incident, which is ongoing. During the month, air violations took place on an almost daily basis.

Let me now conclude. With renewed peace talks, the opportunity is great and the stakes are high.

Making peace will not be easy and carries risks, but the dangers of not trying are much graver. Both leaders have shown that they recognize that. Having summoned the courage to begin, they must now sustain the courage to progress and find the wisdom and statesmanship to lead their Governments and peoples to a peace agreement.

Our collective task is to support those negotiations and maximize prospects for success. The international consensus is and must remain strongly behind that process to ensure that it is seen through to the end. The Secretary-General will continue to fully discharge his responsibilities in that regard.

The President: I thank Mr. Serry for his briefing.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 10.45 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.6389

Security Council

Sixty-fifth year

Provisional

6389th meeting

Thursday, 23 September 2010, 3 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Gül	(Turkey)
Members:	Austria	Mr. Fischer
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Mr. Silajdžić
	Brazil	Mr. Amorim
	China	Mr. Wen Jiabao
	France	Mr. Kouchner
	Gabon	Mr. Bongo Ondimba
	Japan	Mr. Kan
	Lebanon	Mr. Sleiman
	Mexico	Ms. Espinosa Cantellano
	Nigeria	Mr. Jonathan
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Uganda	Mr. Museveni
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Hague
	United States of America	Ms. Clinton

Agenda

Maintenance of international peace and security

Ensuring the Security Council's effective role in maintaining international peace and security

Letter dated 1 September 2010 from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2010/461)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

10-54839 (E)

Please recycle

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Maintenance of international peace and security

Ensuring the Security Council's effective role in maintaining international peace and security

Letter dated 1 September 2010 from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2010/461)

The President: I wish to warmly welcome the distinguished Heads of State and Government, the Secretary-General, Ministers and other distinguished representatives present in the Security Council Chamber. Their presence is an affirmation of the importance of the subject matter to be addressed.

The Security Council summit will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw Council members' attention to document S/2010/461, containing a letter dated 1 September 2010 from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting a concept paper on the item under consideration.

Before I give the floor to the Secretary-General, allow me to say a few words on the rationale behind this important meeting. First of all, it is not very often that the Security Council convenes at such a high level, so I wish to express my gratitude to all of you for accepting my invitation and attending this meeting. I truly believe that our gathering today represents an opportunity for an exchange of views on the evolving security environment and the effectiveness of the tools available to the Security Council.

In this regard, we have to admit that the world has changed dramatically since the foundation of the United Nations in 1945. The core threat that the United Nations was created to prevent — war between States — has now been overtaken by new regional and global security threats. Indeed, in recent decades the Security Council has been preoccupied with extremely complex issues, such as intra-State conflicts, failed States, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism and transnational organized crime. Within this new strategic environment, security and peace can no longer be maintained by military means alone. Historical, social, cultural, political, demographic and economic factors are increasingly entering into play and inform our actions and reactions. In particular, addressing the complex linkages among the notions of democracy, development and security has become a core necessity for sustainable peace. That, in turn, compels us to adopt a more comprehensive and cooperative approach to peace and security.

The Security Council, which has been entrusted by the United Nations Charter with primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, should lead by example in this direction. That is precisely why we wanted to have this summit, in order to undertake a broad review of the international security environment and to display a renewed commitment to dealing with the evolving challenges. Now, two decades after the cold war and 10 years into the twenty-first century, is the best time to do that.

Therefore, I am confident that our meeting today will help us take stock of our actions so far, provide firm guidance for our future endeavours and lay out a bold vision for peace and collective security. I hope the meeting will also provide fresh additional vigour for the Security Council and enable it to forge ahead in the maintenance of global peace and security.

At the end of this meeting, I hope we will be able to give three key messages to the international community. The first message is about the need for a comprehensive approach to peace and security. The operational tools at the Council's disposal — namely, preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding — must be used in a coherent and strategic framework.

The second message should emphasize the need to constantly adapt our responses and actions in the face of evolving circumstances.

And the third and final message should underline the need for new and stronger partnerships among all major stakeholders — particularly the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Peacebuilding Commission, regional organizations and international financial institutions — in meeting contemporary security challenges. Let me stop here and start our deliberations.

I now invite the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Ban Ki-moon, to take the floor.

The Secretary-General: I commend the Government of Turkey for having convened this Security Council summit and for its focus on preventing and ending conflict and building peace.

Since the end of the cold war, violent conflict has declined. Success in peacemaking and peacekeeping has played an important role in this development. Yet, we still live in a troubled world, with new threats and flashpoints. Often, when violence breaks out, the world turns to the United Nations. We are at the centre of crisis management in hotspots throughout the world.

We — this Council and we in the Secretariat — have come a long way in responding to these diverse challenges. We have reinvigorated preventive diplomacy and upgraded the United Nations mediation capacity. We are more nimble in responding to brewing trouble from Guinea to Kyrgyzstan. We continue to make our peacekeeping operations more efficient and effective, including through the New Horizon process. That initiative — which includes the global field support strategy — is designed to help us better adjust to complex situations involving difficult terrain and volatile political contexts, and to better address the resource and technological implications of this work.

We have more instances in which peacemaking and peacekeeping are being carried out simultaneously, as in Cyprus. We continue to enhance our pool of envoys, deepen our cooperation with regional partners, help Member States build up their capacities, and support our field missions and regional offices. We have deployed 122,000 civilian and uniformed personnel in 15 peacekeeping missions, and a further 4,000 personnel in 14 political field missions. They continue to deliver on wide-ranging mandates.

We have strengthened peacebuilding in order to ensure the sustainability of such efforts. Allocations from the Peacebuilding Fund are increasingly targeted and timely. We are working to protect civilians in armed conflict, both as part of peacekeeping mandates and in our humanitarian assistance. Last month's shocking mass rapes in Eastern Congo remind us of the difficulty of this challenge. I have asked my Special Representative on this matter, Ms. Margot Wallström, to help us develop more vigorous mechanisms in tackling these atrocities. We have also taken steps to improve the security of the many thousands of our own staff who risk their lives every day to improve the lives of others.

These incremental yet significant changes are making our engagement in troubled areas more and more effective. But we must do more. Let me focus on four critical areas.

First, we should move beyond the idea of a clear-cut sequence of peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. These tools should be deployed in integrated fashion, not kept in separate silos. Conflict seldom follows a tidy path. We must continue to evolve towards a faster and more flexible architecture of response that allows us to customize our assistance to the real and immediate needs on the ground. With respect to peacekeeping, we will continue to work in close partnership with the Security Council and others to advance the New Horizon initiative.

Secondly, there is no quick fix for broken societies. It demands patience, resources and a long-term commitment. The United Nations core business must be helping people to solve their conflicts, not just serving as a band-aid to keep troubles in check.

Thirdly, we need to further develop the peacebuilding architecture, empower the Peacebuilding Commission and Fund, and promote greater coherence among the many pieces of the United Nations system that make up the peacebuilding picture.

Fourthly, we must expand our work on prevention, in particular to improve our ability to read the warning signs and trigger early action.

The world needs the Security Council to uphold its responsibility for maintaining international peace and security fully, fairly and without delay. We must do more, and be equipped to do more, to fulfil this cardinal mission.

In closing, allow me to note that just yesterday we gathered to recommit ourselves to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Let us recognize the close links between that summit and this, and between the MDGs and the work of this Council. Building peace and advancing development are mutually reinforcing. On all these fronts, the Security Council's leadership will be crucial. Its unity is essential. I pledge my full support as we move forward together.

The President: I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

I invite the Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Mr. Wen Jiabao, to take the floor.

Mr. Wen Jiabao (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): It gives me great pleasure to attend this meeting of the Security Council. I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for your initiative and the Turkish delegation for its efforts in preparing for the meeting.

We live at a time when the trend towards a multipolar world and economic globalization is gaining momentum. New changes are taking place in the global economic and political landscape. The international security situation is generally stable, but due to the impact of the world financial crisis, destabilizing factors and uncertainties are on the increase. Traditional security issues, such as local conflicts, arms races and territorial disputes, remain unresolved and even deteriorate from time to time. Terrorism, transnational crime, cybersecurity, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and other non-traditional security issues are becoming more pronounced.

Faced with these complex and diverse security threats and challenges, we must intensify multilateral cooperation and take stronger collective action in response. That is the consensus of the States Members of the United Nations.

China believes that, as the heart of the collective security mechanism, the Security Council should further enhance its authority and assume greater responsibilities, make greater efforts and play a greater role in maintaining international peace and security. In that connection, I wish to make the following four proposals on the work of the Council in the new circumstances.

First, we must hold high the banner of peace and promote the peaceful settlement of disputes. That is a fundamental principle that the Security Council should always follow. In a globalized world where the interests and destinies of all countries are intertwined, peace is what we all desire and war is what we all detest. History has shown time and again that dialogue, negotiation and other diplomatic means are the only effective way to settle disputes and achieve enduring peace. In keeping with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council should strengthen its good offices and mediation role and make vigorous efforts to persuade the parties concerned to defuse tensions, iron out their differences peacefully and prevent the outbreak or escalation of conflict.

Secondly, the Council must improve its working methods and enhance its problem-solving abilities. United Nations peacekeeping is one of the major resources at the Council's disposal to address conflicts. The scale and mission of United Nations peacekeeping operations have been expanding in recent years, and mandates and functions have become more diverse. It is important to sum up experience and improve the efficiency and effectiveness of peacekeeping operations. The Security Council must adhere to the Hammarskjöld principles of impartiality, consent of the parties and non-use of force except in self-defence. It should consult closely with the parties concerned, step up cooperation with regional organizations, make overall arrangements for entry and exit strategies, coordinate military and political efforts and authorize the deployment of peacekeeping missions at an appropriate time on the basis of thorough analysis of all factors. The Security Council may decide to impose sanctions under the United Nations Charter, but it should exercise caution in doing so. Sanctions are not an end in themselves, and, more often than not, the wilful imposition of sanctions and pressure does not help improve the situation at all. The only right approach is to follow an integrated strategy that accords top priority to diplomacy.

Thirdly, we must strengthen coordination and remove the root causes of disputes and conflicts. Disputes and conflicts often go hand in hand with poverty and backwardness. The Security Council should enhance coordination with the relevant United Nations agencies to form synergies and help poor countries afflicted with conflicts accelerate post-war reconstruction, realize economic and social development and improve the livelihood of the people. This can help remove the breeding ground for conflicts and prevent conflicts at the source, thus laying the foundation for enduring peace and security. That should be the direction of the Council's efforts.

Fourthly, we must highlight priorities and resolve hot-spot issues in Africa. Most issues on the Security Council's agenda relate to Africa, and most of the United Nations peacekeeping missions are deployed in Africa. To achieve world peace and stability, hot-spot issues in Africa must be addressed and security and stability in Africa must be realized. The international community should be more attentive to the needs of

Africa, accommodate the concerns of African countries and respect their will and their choices. The Security Council should strengthen coordination and cooperation with the African Union, take more active measures to help settle hot-spot issues in Africa and work with other United Nations agencies to channel more assistance to African countries.

The Chinese people love peace, and China is a responsible member of the international community. As early as 2,500 years ago, the Chinese thinker Confucius said, "Peace is the most valuable". As a nation repeatedly plagued by the scourge of war, we fully appreciate the value of peace, and also the wisdom of "Do not do unto others what you would not have others do unto you". We have followed an independent foreign policy of peace and committed ourselves to building friendly and cooperative ties with all countries of the world.

We stand for the five principles of peaceful coexistence, advocate a new concept of security based on mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination, and endeavour to build a harmonious world of lasting peace and common prosperity.

As a permanent member of the Security Council, China has vigorously called for and worked for the peaceful settlement of disputes and has played a important and constructive role in a range of major regional hot-spot issues, including the Korean nuclear issue, the Iranian nuclear issue, the Middle East and the Sudan.

China has taken an active part in United Nations peacekeeping operations. China is the largest contributor of peacekeeping personnel among the permanent members of the Security Council. We have sent a total of more than 14,000 peacekeeping personnel to 25 missions. We have also sent escort fleets as part of the international effort to combat piracy off the Somali coast.

China is fully engaged in multilateral arms control and disarmament affairs in an effort to uphold the international nuclear non-proliferation regime. China has also done a great deal of productive work in the global effort to fight terrorism. China is firmly committed to the path of peaceful development. We pursue a national defence policy that is defensive in nature. We will never seek hegemony or harbour expansionist intentions. We will contribute to regional and international development and peace through our own development.

We will earnestly fulfil our international obligations and shoulder our due responsibilities. We will continue to uphold the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and become more deeply engaged in the peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts of the Security Council. We will work with other Member States to enable the Council to play a greater role in maintaining international peace and security.

Through our experience over the years, we have come to realize that, even as peace and security may seem a distant dream, if we all abide by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, keep in mind our solemn resolve to combine our efforts to accomplish those aims and strengthen our conviction and cooperation, we will move ever closer to the objective of common security and enduring peace for all humankind.

The President: I now invite His Excellency Mr. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda, to take the floor.

President Museveni: I would like to thank President Abdullah Gül for convening this meeting of the Security Council on ensuring the Security Council's effective role in maintaining international peace and security.

The United Nations was founded as an organization that would act to prevent conflicts between nations, avert future wars and strengthen cooperation among its Members. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members conferred on the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The emphasis was on quick and strong action. It is that emphasis that makes the theme for this meeting pertinent.

In connection with Africa, however, I want to make two points. First, where the United Nations has acted alone, it has made mistakes, such as in Congo in the 1960s and in Rwanda in the 1990s. Secondly, all the major problems that have been solved in Africa have been regionally led, with the United Nations and other bodies from outside Africa playing a supportive role.

The first point is clear enough. It does not need elaboration. It is enough to point out the death of Patrice Lumumba in United Nations hands and its tragic consequences for Congo. Coming to the second point, it should be clear to all that all the major African problems that have been solved have been regionally led: the independence of Mozambique, the independence of Zimbabwe and even majority rule in South Africa, the defeat of Idi Amin, the defeat of Mobutu, the addressing of the Sudan problem, the stopping of the genocide in Rwanda, the resolution of the problem of Burundi, and the addressing of the problem of Somalia, the problem of Liberia and the problem of Sierra Leone. Where the United Nations works with the regional organizations or internal forces within each country, the results are better and durable.

There are still several intractable conflicts around the world, as well as new threats such as transnational organized crime, drug trafficking, terrorism and piracy that have to be dealt with more resolutely. The Security Council needs to work on new ways to tackle those challenges through a more concerted and comprehensive approach at the global, regional and national levels. We should avoid situations where the United Nations is unable to act or shows indifference in dealing with any conflict situations or threats, because that will undermine confidence in the United Nations.

It is also essential that the Security Council continuously evaluate its diagnosis of conflict situations and reflect on whether the solutions prescribed are correct. There are cases of countries where United Nations peacekeeping operations lasted many years and then wound up, but had to return to address the same concerns. That implies that the approaches used in such countries did not address their core problems.

We welcome the ongoing efforts to enhance the effectiveness of United Nations peacekeeping by ensuring that the mandated tasks are appropriate to the situation on the ground. However, more attention still needs to be paid to supporting fragile and post-conflict countries in building the capacity of their national institutions to effectively address security and other challenges.

The Security Council should also take interest in human security issues, including social and economic development, that matter to many developing countries. In this regard, priority should be given to strengthening support for national ownership and capacity development, based on priorities identified by the national authorities. Only national actors can address their society's needs in a way that can enhance sustainable peace, security and prosperity.

We welcome the strengthening of the Security Council's strategic partnership with the African Union and with other regional and subregional organizations, which also play an important role in the maintenance of peace and security. The United Nations should optimize the contribution by those organizations, which have advantages of proximity and the capability to mobilize and respond quickly. In the recent past, the number of missions carried out in pursuit of peace by such organizations has increased.

The African Union has shown its commitment to conflict prevention, mediation and resolution in Africa, as demonstrated by its response to conflict situations on the continent. African ownership has been shown through the contribution of political leadership and troops, logistics, and financing, according to the capacity of its member States.

However, the major challenge that inhibits the effectiveness of African Union peacekeeping operations, such as the African Union Mission in Somalia, is lack of adequate financial resources. That is one area where more support from the United Nations and other international partners is urgently needed.

It is imperative that the long-standing concerns about the need to reform the Security Council be addressed to foster its effectiveness. The Council needs greater credibility, legitimacy and representation. It is an injustice that the entire continent of Africa — 53 Member States, with a population of over 1 billion people — has no permanent representation on this Council. I am here in a seasonal capacity. The Council should also strive to be more even-handed and transparent in its approaches and decisions in order to dispel the perception that on some issues under its consideration, vested interests override fairness.

In addition, the Council should engage more with those countries on its agenda or whose situations it is considering, to afford them an opportunity to express their views and concerns.

Since the Security Council acts on behalf of the Members States in the maintenance of international peace and security, it is imperative that it live up to expectations by acting promptly and effectively in addressing the current and new threats to international peace and security.

The President: I now invite the Federal President of the Republic of Austria, His Excellency Mr. Heinz Fischer, to take the floor.

Mr. Fischer: Emerging from the biggest catastrophe of the twentieth century — a war in which altogether 50 million people lost their lives — the United Nations was founded to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The Security Council was entrusted with the responsibility to maintain international peace and security. Over the past 65 years the Council has made an enormous contribution to that noble goal. For those affected by armed conflict, this often is a question of life and death, of security and development and of respect for the rule of law and human rights. No continent has been spared.

While in its early years the Council had to deal primarily with inter-State conflicts, the nature of conflicts has changed significantly in recent times. Intrastate conflicts involving non-State actors, as well as transnational threats such as terrorism, organized crime, drug trafficking, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, et cetera, have created new challenges for the United Nations and the Security Council.

Peacekeeping, which as far as I know was not foreseen in the Charter of the United Nations, has developed into a particularly successful crisis-management tool. Over the past decades the character of peacekeeping has changed. After monitoring ceasefires and interpositioning, peacekeepers today find themselves in the midst of conflicts and facing complex tasks and challenges.

Recognizing the importance of United Nations peacekeeping, Austria began contributing troops, police and experts to United Nations operations immediately after joining the Organization. Altogether, 90,000 Austrians in the service of peace since 1960 are proof of our unwavering commitment to the maintenance of international peace and security.

Our willingness to assume global responsibility furthermore manifests itself in our third term as a member of the Security Council. Confronted with today's threats, we identified the protection of civilians in armed conflict as one of the key priorities. The effective protection of the civilian population is the precondition for sustainable peace, and as long as United Nations peacekeeping missions are involved, it is also a question of the credibility of the Council.

Resolution 1894 (2009) provides a solid basis for further enhancing the protection of the most vulnerable. Creating a favourable protection environment goes beyond protection from physical violence. It must be complemented by activities in the fields of the rule of law, human rights, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, and the empowerment of local society. The swift implementation of resolution 1894 (2009) will therefore make an important contribution to the Council's effectiveness in this core area.

An equally important topic is the role of women in peace and security. We must seize the unique opportunity of the tenth anniversary of resolution 1325 (2000) this October to renew our commitment and work towards the increased participation, representation and full involvement of women in preventive diplomacy, mediation, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. In this context, I would like to commend Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for his strong leadership and encourage him to continue to promote the cause of women.

These efforts must be accompanied by an increased protection of women and girls, especially from sexual violence. The Security Council has several times reaffirmed its role in fighting impunity for such violations. Let me also thank Uganda for its commitment to further advance the implementation of this landmark resolution during its presidency of the Council in the month of October.

The systematic consideration of topics like the protection of civilians in armed conflict, children and armed conflict or woman, peace and security demonstrates the ability of the Council to respond effectively to today's challenges. Peacekeeping and peacebuilding need to go hand in hand.

Finally, I would like to emphasize that prevention is the most effective and efficient way to manage conflicts. We therefore highly welcome the efforts by

the Secretary-General to strengthen the United Nations capacity in early warning and conflict prevention and to continue his good offices and mediation activities. As a member of the European Union, we strongly believe in the partnership between the United Nations and regional organizations in this regard.

In conclusion, allow me to congratulate you, Mr. President, on organizing this summit and preparing a presidential statement that enjoys our full support. Let me close by reiterating that the Council will exercise its role in a most effective and credible manner when the guiding principle of its actions is the rule of law — clear and foreseeable rules equally applicable to everybody.

The President: I invite the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, His Excellency Mr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, to take the floor.

Mr. Jonathan: I commend your delegation, Mr. President, for convening this meeting to undertake a strategic review of the evolving international security environment. During this review, it is essential for us to agree on a shared vision and provide the highest political direction necessary for the Security Council to more effectively maintain international peace and security.

Our evolving security landscape is marked with multiple threats that respect neither borders nor nationalities. They include the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the illicit trade in and proliferation of small arms and light weapons, and drug and human trafficking, as well as the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war.

Ours is also a world of extreme inequality, deprivation, marginalization and exclusion. These problems are compounded by systemic issues such as underdevelopment, pressure on natural resources and difficulties related to social cohesion and governance. The viral nature of conflict spillovers adds to the international security paradigm.

These complex challenges call for vision, creativity, commitment and leadership from the United Nations and Member States. The Council should consider repositioning itself to deal with the changing international environment.

The recent review of the Peacebuilding Commission and the discussion of the New Horizon Initiative in the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations — the C34 — make the case for greater cooperation among the various organs of the United Nations to ensure effective service delivery on the ground. The Council should therefore enhance its collaboration with the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council and also build partnerships with other relevant stakeholders, especially the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, in finding solutions to the interwoven challenges of peace, security and development. The Council should more readily deal with smaller-scale challenges as it does with big picture issues like global terrorism.

Our current security architecture is not the best model for addressing today's multiple security challenges. The growing human, material and financial cost of peacekeeping is unsustainable. The competing demands of growing poverty and the spread of diseases cannot be ignored. Those factors make a compelling case for a coherent strategic framework to integrate security and development imperatives. We have seen, in Sierra Leone and Liberia, how United Nations agencies can work with political actors to foster stability through the creation of opportunity, the promotion of good governance and the rule of law.

Nigeria has learned many lessons about the evolving security paradigm and the causes and consequences of violent conflicts. Within West Africa in the last two decades and in Africa as a whole, we have witnessed the value of preventive approaches to conflict management — a concept this Council embraced under Nigeria's presidency in July. We are encouraged by the Council's recognition of the need to optimize the use of the full range of preventive diplomacy tools.

By refining our understanding of conflict management, we afford ourselves the opportunity to reflect critically on the tools we need to respond adequately to the task at hand. We are already witnessing the green shoots of change as conflict management models adapt to incorporate preventive perspectives in their design.

Through the use of preventive methods, actors such as the Department of Political Affairs and its Mediation Support Unit are making significant contributions to the building of confidence among local communities. The Secretary-General, with the support of the Security Council, is on a right track to establish

a United Nations Office in Central Africa. The office will, we hope, replicate the peacebuilding gains witnessed in West Africa through the work of the United Nations Office for West Africa. However, continued instability in places like the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Sudan and the Middle East are stark warnings against complacency.

We must acknowledge today that the Council will have little success in freeing peoples from the scourge of war without the contributions of regional and subregional actors, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter. Working together, they can significantly support United Nations efforts to secure stability, as we have seen from the contributions of the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States. Nigeria is willing and well positioned to be a driver for such enhancement efforts.

We must consolidate our efforts based on the foundation of what has already been accomplished. Recently many Council members have propelled this process. The United Kingdom and France initiated the ongoing peacekeeping review; Nigeria has pressed for a focus on preventive diplomacy; and the United States, Japan and Turkey initiated a focus on peacekeeping and troop contribution. We encourage the Council to now build in a mechanism to monitor the progress of objectives identified at summit meetings such as this.

The vulnerable, the marginalized and the oppressed are calling upon the United Nations for leadership to end the torment of conflict. In answering this clarion call, we must allow the United Nations to serve as

> "the indispensable common house of the entire human family, through which we will seek to realize our universal aspirations for peace, cooperation and development" (*General Assembly resolution 55/2, para. 32*).

I therefore urge my fellow leaders to be bold, imaginative, pragmatic and unwavering in purpose. Let us be particular in setting our objectives; let us be concrete in marking out our goals. Above all, we must translate our lofty words into concrete action without let or hindrance.

The President: I now invite His Excellency Mr. Haris Silajdžić, Chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to take the floor.

President Silajdžić: I would like to thank you, President Gül, and the delegation of the Republic of Turkey for convening this high-level meeting in order to make a strategic review of the Security Council's growing role in the maintenance of international peace and security. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Ban Ki-moon, for his excellent presentation. I sincerely hope that the outcome of our meeting today will serve as a useful tool for future Security Council deliberations.

The primary role of the Security Council under the United Nations Charter is to maintain international peace and security. We should live up to expectations and send a unanimous message today that we commit ourselves to developing the means to fulfil this responsibility.

Coming from the perspective of Bosnia and Herzegovina, I cannot stress enough how crucial it is that the lessons learned in the past are applied appropriately. The Security Council has erred in the past, and Bosnia and Herzegovina is the most illustrative example of that in modern history. By imposing and maintaining the arms embargo on Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Security Council added to the overwhelming military advantage of Milošević's regime, which intended to expand his country's territories, at the expense of the surrounding States, through genocide and ethnic cleansing, regardless of human cost.

As a result, according to the data from the International Committee of the Red Cross, 200,000 people were killed, 12,000 of them children, up to 50,000 women were raped, and 2.2 million were forced to flee their homes. May I also remind the Council that 1,350,000 citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina still live outside the country as a consequence.

At the time, some powerful members of this Council justified that course by arguing that the lifting of the embargo would add oil to the fire. The result was that the fire was essentially quelled with the blood of the innocent.

And then the horrors culminated in the genocide that was committed in Srebrenica in July 1995. In fact, the Secretary-General's report on Srebrenica from 1999 unequivocally admitted:

> "Through error, misjudgement and an inability to recognize the scope of the evil confronting us, we

> failed to do our part to help save the people of Srebrenica from the Serb campaign of mass murder ... Srebrenica crystallised a truth understood only too late by the United Nations and the world at large: that Bosnia was as much a moral cause as a military conflict. The tragedy of Srebrenica will haunt our history forever." (A/54/549, para. 503)

We cannot bring back the dead, but we can give dignity and justice to the survivors. What we say today is not aimed at the past, but at the future. We owe it not only to the victims and survivors, but to our own common humanity. The message that the Security Council sends to the would-be perpetrators of crimes in the name of twisted ideologies must be crystal clear: "your crimes will not pay off".

The errors that were made in Bosnia and Herzegovina have hardly been corrected. To the contrary, the peace and security established by the Dayton Agreement and the progress made in many fields are now destabilized by open calls for secession of one part of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This destabilizing rhetoric was preceded by the testing of the international community's patience for the last 15 years. Inadequate responses to the constant blocking of State institutions, return of refugees and provocative rhetoric have been tolerated long enough for the perpetrators to believe that the time has come to turn the territories where they committed atrocities, ethnic cleansing and genocide into their own fiefdom. That is a threat not only to the peace, security and stability in which the international community invested so much, but also a test of the international community's resolve to prevent the escalation and the opening of fresh wounds in my country.

It would be a repetition of the mistake to dismiss open calls for changing international borders as election campaign rhetoric. Our ability to prevent is tested once more. As President John F. Kennedy once rightly said, "an error does not become a mistake until you refuse to correct it".

I would also like to say a few words about post-conflict peacebuilding operations. Although all relevant national and international actors should be involved in the process, we consider the political will of the host country and national ownership to be sine qua non conditions for the success of peacebuilding operations. The peacebuilding process is primarily the national responsibility of post-conflict countries.

Promotion of dialogue between the parties to a conflict, particularly between decision makers and civil society, is critical for national institutions' capacity- and confidence-building and for the reconciliation process. Holding all those who committed crimes accountable and bringing them to justice is of crucial importance to the reconciliation process.

Another unpleasant reminder is in order here: Ratko Mladić, the chief executioner of the genocide in Srebrenica, is still at large. That does not bode well for prevention and our credibility.

Peacebuilding operations should be based on an integrated approach that includes establishment of good governance, rule of law, promotion of human rights, institution-building, security sector reform, economic reconstruction and development, and full reintegration of refugees and internally displaced persons. Furthermore, the role of women and their involvement in peacebuilding efforts should be strengthened in post-conflict societies.

In our increasingly interconnected world, the issues of peace and security are inseparable. New threats and challenges emerge on a daily basis. No country can isolate itself from them or tackle them individually. The Security Council therefore must be prepared to deal with challenges in a coherent, comprehensive and just way. The Security Council must meet the expectations and fulfil the hopes of millions of those in need throughout the world. They expect nothing less from us.

The President: I now invite His Excellency Mr. Ali Bongo Ondimba, President of the Gabonese Republic, to take the floor.

President Bongo Ondimba (*spoke in French*): At the outset, I should like to commend you, Sir, and through you your country, Turkey, for taking the initiative to organize this summit meeting, which gives us an opportunity today to assess the role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security.

With developments in the international context, new threats to peace and security in our world have emerged. These include, inter alia, climate change, arms proliferation, international terrorism, piracy, drug trafficking and its corollary, transnational organized

crime. The complex nature of these new threats and the now obvious interdependence between security issues and those of development make the role of the Council increasingly difficult and the mandates of its peacekeeping missions less and less effective. If it is to confront these new challenges, the Council must reconsider its methods of operation.

From this perspective, I am pleased to propose some ideas that I believe could help the Council to make its action more effective. I urge the Council to emphasize prevention. As members will agree, it is better to prevent crises and conflicts than to have to resolve them. To that end, I exhort the Secretary-General to pursue his mediation efforts and to do everything possible to improve the Organization's early warning mechanism.

On 8 March, at the International Peace Institute here in New York, I emphasized the importance that Gabon attaches to the role of preventive diplomacy. That idea prevailed, for example, when we implemented mechanisms in our subregion to prevent and manage crises and conflicts such as the early warning mechanism for Central Africa, headquartered in my country, and the Council for Peace and Security in Central Africa. Within the framework of its preventive action in Central Africa, the Council would do well to strengthen the capacities of all these mechanisms. I wish here to welcome the imminent opening in Libreville of the United Nations Office for Central Africa, the mandate of which will encompass this mission.

Given the complexities of the new crises the Council faces today, the Council must reconsider its approach to peacekeeping. My country therefore supports the Secretary-General's New Horizon initiative, aimed at making peacekeeping operations more robust. When peacekeeping is inoperative, the Security Council must find a way to impose peace. Such an approach would have been useful in particular in Somalia.

Beyond their operational content, peacekeeping missions must have a global and multidisciplinary nature. We thus welcome the inclusion of new components in these operations, such as offices for child soldiers, victims of sexual abuse and the protection of civilian populations. A smooth transition towards peacebuilding requires the Council to take into account both the basic conditions for sustainable peace and the expectations of populations. That is why it is important to establish peacekeeping operations with clear and achievable mandates. These mandates must be endowed with crisis exit strategies based on benchmarks to enable performance evaluations and the fulfilment of identified objectives.

Ensuring international peace and security is an immense task that requires increased cooperation between the Council and regional organizations, especially because the latter are more familiar with realities in the theatres of operation. I therefore welcome the existence of an official consultation mechanism between the Security Council and the African Union (AU) Peace and Security Council on questions of common interest. I am also pleased to see that these two organizations are working together to find solutions for peace in Darfur and in Somalia.

Africa being the main theatre for peacekeeping missions, consolidating cooperation between the Security Council and the AU Peace and Security Council is a strategic goal. Such cooperation will strengthen the action of the Peace and Security Council, and this Council will benefit from having a partner whose knowledge and mastery of the challenges on the ground will be an indispensable asset.

Peacekeeping must be pursued through peacebuilding in order to prevent the resurgence of crises and conflicts. It is thus important that peacebuilding missions in post-conflict countries increasingly include programmes to help re-establish political, juridical, security and socio-economic institutions.

I believe that these comprise the foundation for vigorous action by the Council that is more adapted to realities in the field and the expectations of populations facing the multiple scourges that threaten peace and security in the world.

The President: I now invite His Excellency General Michel Sleiman, President of the Lebanese Republic, to take the floor.

President Sleiman (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, allow me to express my appreciation to you, Sir, for convening this summit-level. Such an initiative makes perfect sense in the light of Turkey's pivotal role. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his valuable preliminary remarks.

In the first year of this century, the world witnessed a devastating terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in this city, which is host to the United Nations. In its eighth year, the world faced a global financial crisis. Despite their severity, these crises did not lead to a general economic collapse. Nor did they portend the outbreak of a world war, as had been the case at the start of the twentieth century. In large part that is thanks to the fact that the international community agreed on common approaches to addressing those global crises through mechanisms for action and solidarity that were based on institutions for joint action on the regional and international levels, most prominently the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Nevertheless, the successive political and economic have revealed flaws and shortcomings in this international system. For one thing, the United Nations in general, and the Security Council in particular, require reform. The global financial system too must be improved.

Nuclear deterrence and the balance of terror between the two super-Powers prevented global confrontation after 1945. They did not, however, prevent the outbreak of small, unjust and lethal wars which led to the occupation of territories, the division of States, the displacement of peoples and the death of millions. Among the most salient of these unjust and painful crises is the tragedy of Palestine, which is at the core of the conflict in the Middle East.

Indeed, Israel continues to occupy the Arab territories by force and deprive the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, to carry on with the Judaization of Jerusalem and the blockade on Gaza and to cling to its nuclear arsenal. Israel maintains its occupation of Lebanese territories, violating Lebanon's national sovereignty. It persists in its threats, implanting spy networks and agents. That calls for a firm and deterrent position from the international community.

The Security Council can settle disputes peacefully, in accordance with Chapter VI of the Charter, including through preventive diplomacy and peacebuilding. Improving performance requires a transition from a reactive mode to a proactive mode, notably by trying to address the root causes of oppression and poverty-induced conflicts, and preventing aggressor States from achieving their covetous designs on the territories and resources of others.

Such efforts should include consolidating democracy, spreading enlightened and moderate thinking and promoting an environment conducive to good governance, far from fanaticism, racism and arrogance. They should also involve maintaining initiatives to promote dialogue between and rapprochement among civilizations, cultures and religions. Lebanon wishes to become an international centre for the management of such dialogue.

We must mention the fact that there are tasks that require only adequate pressure by the international community and the Security Council in particular. Such is the case in south Lebanon, where Israeli forces must withdraw from all Lebanese territories still under their occupation, without any conditions, in accordance with relevant resolutions of the United Nations, particularly Security Council resolution 1701 (2006). In this context, I would like to commend the efforts and sacrifices in south Lebanon by the troops of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon. Lebanon will always be keen to mobilize all its national capabilities in order to defend its sovereignty, independence and safety and to protect its land and waters and its marine resources.

Having participated in the 1991 Madrid Peace Conference, Lebanon still looks forward to a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, on all tracks, based on the Madrid terms of reference, the relevant resolutions of international legitimacy and the Arab Peace Initiative, in all its provisions. These all preserve Lebanon's right to regain all its occupied territories without conditions.

While Lebanon closely follows initiatives undertaken to reach partial solutions, or beginnings of solutions, made outside the aforementioned comprehensive approaches, it reiterates that it would not agree to any solution for the Middle East cause in which it does not participate or which contradicts its high national interests, particularly its sovereign right to oppose any form of resettlement of Palestinian refugees in its territories. Such resettlement would actually contradict the refugees' legitimate and human rights. It would run counter to the Taif Accord, which was approved by the Security Council, and to the preamble of the Lebanese Constitution and the Arab Peace Initiative. Furthermore, it would lead to an

unjust and tense situation, fuel violence and undermine stability in Lebanon and the Middle East.

We should also recall that the international community assumes a huge responsibility to increase the budget of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), which was established in 1949 to address humanitarian issues and aspects of daily life for Palestinian refugees.

The Security Council can adopt coercive measures such as sanctions and the use of force when it acts within the framework of Chapter VI of the Charter. However, most oppressed peoples often complain about the Council's inability to enforce its own resolutions or about its double standards that depict Israel, for example, as a State beyond accountability and above international law. They also depict the United Nations as incapable and paralysed. That requires effective consideration of the causes of such a negative perception and how it might be redressed so as to reactivate the Council's role and gain the peoples' confidence it its ability to champion them and bring about justice in a way that dissuades them from resorting to resistance as a legitimate means of self-defence.

What we share as nations is the obligation to respect the rules of international law and the spirit of justice. We do believe that the rule that maintains international peace and security and ensures equality and respect for human rights is the force of law and justice rather than the law of force and fait accompli.

The President: I now invite the Prime Minister of Japan, His Excellency Mr. Naoto Kan, to take the floor.

Mr. Kan (Japan) (*spoke in Japanese; English text provided by the delegation*): Today, threats to the security of human beings are diversifying, as exemplified by issues such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism and acts of piracy. Furthermore, the context in which such threats originate is becoming more complex. To cut off those threats at the root, we need to fully understand their causes and carefully choose the most appropriate policy options.

In April this year, Japan hosted a ministerial meeting in this Chamber, and we came to the conclusion that a peacebuilding strategy is necessary to enable us to work in a comprehensive and integrated manner on political, security and development issues.

It is worthwhile for world leaders to engage in discussions on peacebuilding on this occasion. It is testimony to the fact that peacebuilding is an urgent issue and a common goal of the international community. I appreciate the initiative of President Abdullah Gül of Turkey in this regard.

What does true peace mean? Can we call the mere absence of the state of war or conflict "peace"? No, that is not the case. Restoring peace and the lives of people destroyed by war, conflicts and natural disaster leads to true peace. Japan fully supports the people who strive for the reconstruction of societies and the economies in this process of restoration.

That is why I firmly believe that the most important role of State leaders is to reduce, to the extent possible, sources of human suffering such as diseases, poverty and conflict. I call this concept the realization of a society where human suffering is reduced to a minimum. I also introduced this idea as a fundamental philosophy during my speech yesterday at the High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly. Japan will take proactive and concrete action towards the realization of true peace.

Based on these thoughts, Japan will promote its assistance through focusing on four pillars, namely, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, conflict prevention and human security.

First is peacekeeping. As Chair of the Security Council Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations, Japan will lead discussions on enhancing cooperation among countries contributing to peacekeeping activities and on securing the necessary resources for peacekeeping operations. Japan itself is actively contributing to peacekeeping and other related operations. This year, we expeditiously dispatched Japanese self-defence forces to the disaster-affected countries of Haiti and Pakistan. We also decided to dispatch military liaison officers to the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste.

Let us next consider peacebuilding. The common assumption is that peacebuilding is to begin after peacekeeping ends. However, in order to realize true peace, it is imperative to engage in peacebuilding in tandem with peacekeeping activities from the early stages of the latter. Japan has learned the importance of

a comprehensive and integrated approach to peacebuilding through its experience with long-term assistance in peacebuilding in Cambodia, where we were fully engaged from the outset, hosting a peace conference and donors' conferences, and where we continued to provide support through the final stage of the peace process, the Khmer Rouge trials. In the nation-building efforts in Timor-Leste, our contributions based on such prior experience are about to bear fruit. We attach great importance to peacebuilding efforts employing similar approaches in other areas, such as Afghanistan, Iraq, the Middle East and Africa.

Of all of these, it is Afghanistan that presents the greatest challenge to the international community in terms of peacebuilding, and it is that country to which Japan is providing the most intensive assistance. In cooperation with various partners, Japan has extended comprehensive and integrated support for the Afghan Government's efforts, focusing on three pillars: the improvement of security, including police training; reintegration through vocational training and job creation for former Taliban rank-and-file soldiers; and sustainable and self-reliant development by means of agricultural assistance, among other programmes.

Japan will cooperate with the Republic of Turkey in assisting Afghan police training by providing funding as well as police personnel, with a view to improving security in Afghanistan. We also recently disbursed $50 million in assistance for the reintegration of insurgents. It is our intention to provide assistance, in cooperation with the international community, in such a way that the people of Afghanistan will be able to perceive a tangible improvement in their lives.

In the area of conflict prevention, the third pillar, creating a safe and secure environment for people to live their lives and implementing continued confidence-building measures are essential in vulnerable or post-conflict States.

The Security Council also must continue exerting its utmost efforts to halt the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in order to prevent terrorist groups or other organizations from acquiring those weapons. Japan will implement the action plan agreed at the 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. During a meeting of foreign ministers yesterday, Japan and Australia, together with other like-minded countries, launched a new group on this issue. We will also continue to work on nuclear disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation efforts in cooperation with the international community.

The concept of human security, the fourth pillar, is useful in helping the Security Council to cope with these matters. True peace can be sustained only when each individual human being achieves freedom, secures dignity and leads a fulfilled life. Relying on this philosophy, we will continue to contribute to international efforts to protect and empower vulnerable States and people.

Finally, it has been 65 years since the birth of the United Nations. The world situation has changed drastically since then. If the Security Council is to continue to play an effective role in maintaining international peace and security in the twenty-first century, the Council itself needs to demonstrate its legitimacy by reflecting the reality of the international community. To that end, Japan will cooperate with other Member States and work actively for the early realization of reform of the Security Council.

The President: I invite His Excellency Mr. Sergey V. Lavrov, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, to take the floor.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Let me thank the delegation of Turkey and President Gül personally for convening today's meeting of the Security Council.

In recent years, the United Nations and many regional and subregional associations have done tremendous work in the prevention and settlement of crisis situations and post-conflict rehabilitation. Having confronted global and transborder challenges and threats to international stability, such as the proliferation of mass destruction, terrorism, drug trafficking and organized crime, we are now working on new, more effective mechanisms to ensure international and regional stability. In accordance with the United Nations Charter, the Security Council is taking the lead in these efforts. It is important that the Council further improve existing mechanisms to ensure its more effective and prompt response.

The experience of settling a number of crisis situations points to a number of basic conclusions. The first and the most important conclusion is that modern

conflicts cannot be resolved by force. They should be resolved first and foremost at the political and diplomatic levels through the involvement of all parties in dialogue and negotiations, with none being isolated. We all witnessed in August 2008 the result of unilateral disruption of agreed peacekeeping formats and reliance on force.

Secondly, we should spare no effort, material or intellectual, for the early prevention of conflicts and the strengthening of United Nations potential in the area of preventive diplomacy and mediation. It is well known that the prevention of conflict situations is considerably less expensive than solving them subsequently. To this end, active support should be extended to the United Nations Regional Centres for Preventive Diplomacy, relevant regional organizations and associations that provide assistance in the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prevention of transborder threats to security.

Thirdly, the success of our peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts in the Middle East, Afghanistan, Africa, Haiti, East Timor and elsewhere hinges on our ability to take the interests and priorities of the host party into account. No assistance of the international community should be imposed.

Fourthly, modern conflicts require complex strategies and comprehensive solutions based on the unity of objectives; the predictability of material, technical and financial support; the effective combination of military and civil stabilization efforts; and close coordination, taking into account regional contexts and the optimal involvement of the potential of regional organizations pursuant to Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. It is important to avoid duplication of efforts and, even worse, rivalry. Based on this understanding, we promote cooperation between the United Nations and the Collective Security Treaty Organization and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

We welcome and fully support regular dialogue between the Security Council and countries contributing troops to United Nations peacekeeping operations. Such dialogue helps us to develop more realistic mandates, adequately assess existing resources and ensure appropriate control.

In that respect, we consider the practice of inviting to Council meetings the commanders of military contingents of peacekeeping operations, which we introduced last month during the Russian presidency in the Security Council, to be of particular use. The Russian proposal to further intensify the activities of the Military Staff Committee remains relevant and has enjoyed a positive response from a growing number of States. It provides for the further development of practical cooperation between the Military Staff Committee and the Security Council, the Secretariat and all interested Member States, in full compliance with the United Nations Charter and its Article 47. This would ensure a systemic and professional military expert assessment of peacekeeping activities.

In the light of the upcoming drawdown of operations in Chad and East Timor and the downsizing of operations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia, it is especially important to develop effective exit strategies. Such strategies should help to optimize costs and to focus efforts and existing resources on creating conditions favourable to strengthening political settlements, preventing the recurrence of conflicts and ensuring effective post-conflict peacebuilding.

Additional attention should be given to the question of how peacekeeping and peacebuilding mandates can be rationally combined and how and when to engage the Peacebuilding Commission, the United Nations specialized agencies and regional organizations.

Russian peacekeepers participate in the operations in the Middle East, various regions of Africa, Kosovo, East Timor and Haiti. Our helicopter units have been deployed as part of the United Nations missions in Sudan, Chad and the Central African Republic. Russia provides tangible material, technical and transport support to United Nations peacekeeping operations and conducts training of civil police officers from various regions of the world, including from African countries. This policy is supported by our annual contribution to the Peacekeeping Fund in the amount $2 million. Russia will continue to increase its practical contribution to the peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities of the United Nations.

The President: I now invite His Excellency Ambassador Celso Amorim, Minister of External Relations of Brazil, to take the floor.

Mr. Amorim (Brazil): I would like to commend President Gül and the Turkish delegation for their initiative to hold this high-level meeting.

Sixty-five years ago, the United Nations was founded to prevent another war of great proportions. For many, however, real peace has never come about. Millions still live in a world where conflict and poverty nurture each other. International efforts to promote stability have been hindered by a narrow view, in which peace was only seen as the absence of armed conflict.

Today it is clear that peace, security, development, human rights and the rule of law are interrelated. Peace can never flourish where there is hunger and poverty. As much as an exit strategy, peacekeeping operations must have a strategy of sustainability, a strategy that will deliver the real dividends of peace: stability, development and strong national institutions.

Peacekeeping and peacebuilding should, to the extent possible, go hand in hand. Let me be clear: we are not advocating that the Security Council be given a mandate to promote development. But, in most cases, the Security Council would benefit from the advice of the Peacebuilding Commission. Other bodies of the United Nations system must also be involved. The coordination between the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council foreseen in Article 65 of the United Nations Charter should be fully exercised.

Let me give a couple of examples.

In Haiti, where Brazil is proud to have contributed to the United Nations-led stabilization efforts, it is clear that there will be no lasting peace if extreme poverty and deprivation are not adequately addressed — and that was true even before the earthquake. Real stability will prevail only if the window of opportunity created by the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti is seized to strengthen institutions and to improve the living conditions of the Haitian people. This will require deep involvement of various bodies dealing with economic and social matters, as well as of the international financial institutions, all under appropriate coordination by the United Nations.

Guinea-Bissau presents another situation in which poverty and institutional instability hamper peace. The reforms needed by that country, especially reform of its armed forces, will require courageous decisions on the part of its authorities. But it cannot dispense with substantial international cooperation. And in order to achieve these combined goals, proper attention by the Security Council may be needed.

Interaction with other United Nations bodies and the ability to cope with complex situations are indispensable to make the Security Council more effective. But that is not enough. It needs to be more representative and legitimate. Its working methods must become more transparent. Security issues that concern the whole of the international community cannot be dealt with as the private domain of a limited number of Powers.

Improving the effectiveness of the Security Council depends also on the role of non-permanent members. They must fully participate in the decision-making process. Non-permanent members can bring a diversity of views and regional experiences to the Council. It is not appropriate to call upon them only to ratify decisions already taken by the permanent members.

It is also impossible to discuss the Council's effectiveness without addressing the question of the veto. We are realistic. We are not proposing to abolish the veto. However, imaginative formulas that make its use more difficult or encourage self-restraint are necessary.

All of the measures I have set out — a holistic approach to crises, the reform of the Council's composition, increasing the role of the non-permanent members and restraining the use of the veto — should contribute to making the international community more engaged in the Council's decisions.

Finally, let me say a word on sanctions. Sanctions, in particular economic sanctions, are foreseen in the United Nations Charter for special intractable situations. Therefore, there should be nothing illegitimate about them in principle. But, more often than not, the imposition of sanctions brings about unintended effects and has a negative impact on the civilian population, especially on its more vulnerable sectors. So, sanctions constitute an instrument to be used with great caution and only when all avenues of dialogue and understanding have been exhausted.

The President: I now invite Her Excellency The Honourable Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State of the United States of America, to take the floor.

Ms. Clinton (United States of America): I commend the Security Council, the Turkish leadership and the Secretary-General for the important statement that will be issued at the end of this Council meeting, and for the emphasis placed on the centrality of peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. I think we have heard today — and will hear from the rest of our colleagues — how important it is to improve these functions as both a humanitarian and a strategic imperative. I am pleased that the statement itself emphasizes reducing and resolving conflicts and also providing better protection to civilians from violence, including protecting women and children from sexual violence. And I am very glad that it is clear-eyed about the current limitations of the United Nations and that it recognizes that all of us, as Member States, have a responsibility to work together to improve this core function.

I have seen the good that the United Nations has accomplished all over the world, and I have been privileged to meet many of the dedicated men and women who work under the blue flag in troubled lands very far from their homes: places like Liberia, where United Nations forces have provided the space and security that that war-torn country needed to begin putting itself back together; Pakistan, where United Nations aid workers are assisting people whose homes and livelihoods have been washed away by the floods; and, of course, Haiti, where United Nations peacekeepers, led by Brazil, were immediately back on the streets after the earthquake, despite having suffered grievous losses themselves. Their presence has provided much-needed order, stability and hope in so many places, and we should never forget the sacrifices and service of these soldiers, police officers, advisers and aid workers who do the hard work and face the danger far from this Chamber that we are in today.

Last year, President Obama met with the leaders of top troop- and police-contributing countries to thank them and discuss how to make United Nations peacekeeping more effective. And I would like to take this opportunity to reaffirm our appreciation for the contributions of all of the nations that have made financial commitments. We will do our best to work together to improve every aspect of United Nations peacekeeping operations.

As the presidential statement says, these undertakings have become increasingly complex. It is no longer enough to just provide peacekeepers. That must be accompanied by effective mediation, peacemaking and peacebuilding. We are concerned about the growing gap between multifaceted mission requirements and the resources available to meet them. Too often, despite their ambitious mandates, United Nations missions lack key capacities. They do not have enough helicopters; they do not have enough medic units; they do not have enough police mentors or crisis response tools. And they are often hampered by inadequate efforts to improve governance and the rule of law. Sending out these missions without the resources and support they need undermines their effectiveness and jeopardizes the safety of United Nations personnel.

I also very much wish to associate myself with the comments of the President of Uganda, concerning the fact that we need to do more in cooperation with regional forces and with countries themselves. Ultimately, the countries we are trying to help stabilize and the civilians we are trying to protect, pay the price of our inadequate financing, organizing and executing of these missions. So improvement begins with clear, credible and achievable mandates for all United Nations missions — and, of course, that starts right here.

The United States also strongly supports operational reforms that would enable United Nations field missions to deploy more rapidly, with adequate numbers of well-equipped and well-trained troops and police, and with the quality of leadership and civilian expertise they require. We also support management reforms for improved efficiency, accountability and transparency. The United States is expanding its efforts to help other countries train and supply formed police units that have the skills and experience to fulfil these difficult missions. These police units provide a critical bridge between short-term security operations and long-term work on governance and the rule of law. And there should be a special focus on boosting the number of women police officers and peacekeepers, like the Indian women I met who were serving so well in Liberia.

The United States is also funding new United Nations efforts to integrate the protection of civilians into every facet of its missions, from strategic planning to on-the-ground operations. It is heartbreaking when

we receive reports, either from the United Nations itself or through the press, that civilians near where United Nations troops are stationed continue to suffer horrific attacks and violence. One place where we need better coordination, and where it is absolutely urgent, is the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), where sexual and gender-based violence against civilians has reached unimaginable proportions. Last year, after visiting the DRC and meeting with women who were brutally assaulted and raped, I chaired the Council's adoption of resolution 1888 (2009), to combat sexual violence in conflict zones. I regret to say we have not made progress. Today I am announcing that the United States will provide new funding to help implement that important measure of resolution 1888 (2009), including the establishment of a Special Representative's office and the ramping up of its efforts to support justice and accountability. We will also contribute to training and protection to those who work for accountability on the ground in the DRC, and to help the DRC develop and implement its own justice mechanisms.

The United States is, as we have been from the very beginning, committed to improving United Nations operations — not just because we think it is the right thing to do, and not just because the humanitarian imperative is so strong in our own value system — but because we actually think it is smart and strategic as well. These missions can help contain and resolve conflicts that would otherwise engulf nations and regions. They can help prevent fragile States from becoming failed States and sources of wider instability. And they can help struggling countries start on the road to becoming productive partners. I look around this Chamber and I see representatives from countries that have known war in the very recent past, that have been torn apart, and still are, by conflict. They have re-emerged, and they have sustained themselves, against great odds; and they are now nations contributing to solving their own and other problems.

So, Mr. President, I hope the discussion that you have brought to the forefront by chairing this summit here in the Security Council is not just another meeting, but that we will follow through and do everything we can to make one of the most important missions of the United Nations — peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding — more effective. The United States will do its part, but we must all do everything we can so that we are supporting those brave men and women wearing those wonderful-looking blue berets — when we see them we are proud of them — and not just sending them to do a mission that from the very beginning is impossible.

The President: I now invite His Excellency Mr. William Hague, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, to take the floor.

Mr. Hague (United Kingdom): I begin by thanking you, Mr. President, for convening this summit. Given the new security threats and economic constraints we face, this debate provides an opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to improving the ability of the United Nations to prevent conflict, to forge sustainable peace agreements and to keep and build peace.

Instability and conflict have a devastating impact around the world. They affect the lives of millions of people and the prosperity of countries and whole regions. Twenty-two of the 34 countries furthest from achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are in the midst of, or are emerging from, violent conflict. Instability and lawlessness provide fertile ground for extremism, organized crime and terrorism — threats that reach beyond the borders of single States. Delivering national security has become a global effort and a global responsibility. Tackling conflict requires a cohesive, strategic and integrated response. In the United Kingdom, one of our first acts in the new Government was to establish a national security council to coordinate efforts across foreign affairs, defence and international development. In the United Nations we have supported reform to ensure coherence across conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, something that the Security Council, and the whole United Nations system has collectively sought to deliver in recent years.

But the real test is whether such reforms are making a difference on the ground. We strongly commend the dedication of United Nations peacekeepers around the world. In the year ahead, major challenges will continue to place significant demands on these dedicated men and women. Peacekeepers will play a critical role supporting the referendum in the Sudan; and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo we will require still greater effort and innovation from our peacekeepers as they seek to halt attacks on civilians, and in particular on women and children.

But peacekeeping alone cannot deliver long-term stability in fragile States. Peacebuilding is critical if we are to address the underlying causes of conflict, such as corruption, ethnic hatred and marginalization. It is critical if we are to strengthen national capacity to manage political disputes peacefully. And it is critical if we are to be better at helping countries re-establish the rule of law, reform security services, shore up good governance and begin economic development. Peacebuilding needs to happen as soon as possible, in order for belligerents and the wider population to have the confidence to invest in a peace agreement.

In the year ahead we need to see the conclusion of reform that remains incomplete. The United Nations review of international civilian capacities should set out bold recommendations on how the United Nations can much more quickly deploy the right expertise to post-conflict countries. This includes making much better use of the capacity of regional organizations and Member States, particularly those of the South. We also need to see more effective use of the Peacebuilding Commission. We support the recent review, but we now need to encourage the Commission to take on the really difficult challenges to peacebuilding and provide advice to the Council, and others, on the course of action required to resolve them. In the year ahead Liberia will be a proving ground for the Peacebuilding Commission. It must help build local capacity to maintain the rule of law so that the United Nations can transfer responsibility for security to national authorities.

If we are serious about tackling conflict, then the Security Council, along with the rest of the United Nations system, needs to develop a genuine culture of prevention. This is a question of political will. The Council must be prepared to take up fast-moving situations in countries that are not on its agenda. We must support regular analysis of potential conflict by the Secretary-General and his senior staff. We should encourage experts across the United Nations system to share information on potential precursors to conflict. Our human rights specialists must be able to share their concerns with those looking for early signs of conflict, and we must have a stronger dialogue with regional and subregional organizations on ways to prevent conflict, including on issues that drive conflict, such as illicit extraction of natural resources.

In the year ahead, if we are to tackle these new threats to security, we will need to deliver regular improvement and lasting impact on the ground. We will need to demonstrate that we are tackling potential conflict in this Council. We will need to show that, by the decisions we take and the actions we mandate, we are reducing the impact of violence on civilian populations, and we will need to be confident that we are building national security sectors so that we can withdraw peacekeeping operations, strong in the knowledge that we have supported sustainable peace.

The President: I now invite Her Excellency Mrs. Patricia Espinosa Cantellano, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico, to take the floor.

Mrs. Espinosa Cantellano (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): We wish at the outset to thank you, Mr. President, for having taken the initiative to convene this meeting of the Security Council to debate at the highest level the issue of strengthening of the role of the Council in the maintenance of peace and security. We also thank your delegation for its guidance of the work of the Council.

The evolution of the international context requires the Council to adapt its skills and mechanisms to cope effectively and comprehensively with the new international challenges and threats, recognizing the clear interdependence between development, respect for international law, human rights and security. Today, we face threats — such as international terrorism and transnational organized crime, including illicit trafficking in drugs, arms and persons — that affect the world in a transversal manner. No country remains unaffected, and no one can face them on their own.

The Security Council, as the highest legitimate body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, in accordance with the prerogatives conferred on it by the Charter of the United Nations, should continue to strengthen its mechanisms and the reach of its decisions in order more effectively to address threats that affect contemporary global stability, instead of being overtaken by reality.

Mexico believes that we live at a time when we have the tools and opportunities to promote an environment conducive to tangible improvements in peace and security. As it has rarely done before, the Council now works to reach consensus based on negotiations within the framework of the international law. There is also a positive and constructive relationship among the permanent members, as well as an exceptionally consistent group of non-permanent

members committed to international peace and security.

These elements show us that it is possible to strengthen the peacekeeping agenda, emphasizing conflict prevention and peacebuilding, and providing the political support necessary to ensure lasting peace. Our work should seek to ensure that the Security Council's efforts have a positive impact on the field as part of a comprehensive and coherent long-term strategy that builds and strengthens lasting peace and promotes the safety of the civilian population, particularly women and children. We must also continue to encourage respect for the international legal framework, ensuring compliance with the Council's decisions and confronting impunity, in particular for violations of international humanitarian law and human rights.

We believe that there should be a greater emphasis on conflict prevention. Dialogue and the peaceful settlement of disputes are essential to strengthening international cooperation in maintaining peace and security, eradicating the structural causes of conflict and encouraging the development and use of resources in a more rational way. In the course of our participation in the Council's work, we have particularly emphasized the peaceful settlement of disputes, preventive diplomacy, respect for the rule of law, and transparency in the Council's working methods, all of which are needed to promote the higher efficiency of this organ's capacities.

Mexico has always promoted the peaceful settlement of disputes and remains convinced that the genuine strengthening of the role of the Organization in the world depends on the validity of Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations. Throughout its history, Mexico has been one of its most active promoters, resorting to arbitration and international courts and encouraging the peaceful settlement of disputes through mediation in our region. To a large extent, and thanks to mediation, for several decades Latin America and the Caribbean has been one of the most peaceful regions of the world. Mediation has led to the resolution of political and ideological conflicts and territorial and border disputes. Thus, in 2009 we convened a debate of the Security Council on mediation and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Conflict prevention and post-conflict attention must remain among the primary objectives of the Organization, which must address the causes in a comprehensive and long-term manner. Peacekeeping and post-conflict capacity-building, in particular of civilian capabilities, are key components of the promotion and strengthening of the rule of law.

We believe that, in 2010, important progress has been made in maintaining the relevance of the topic on the agenda of the Security Council. The debate on the promotion and strengthening of the rule of law in the maintenance of international peace and security, held in June, is one example of that. It is also important to highlight the Council's resolutions urging the parties to armed conflicts to comply with international humanitarian law and to protect vulnerable groups.

With respect to international humanitarian law, the Council has assumed the role of collective guarantor under the Protocol Additional I to the Geneva Conventions. With full conviction, we have convened two meeting on child protection in conflict situations aimed at protecting their rights and ensuring their return to a safe environment with prospects for growth and development. Also, with the support of the members of the Security Council, in 2009 we have strengthened the tools of this Council through resolution 1882 (2009), among others.

As an elected member of the Security Council, and also within the General Assembly, Mexico will continue to contribute in creating conditions of stability and lasting peace at the international level, as we have done since the founding of the Organization, acting under the principles of transparency, democratization and accountability.

I conclude by expressing my delegation's support for the draft presidential statement to be adopted at the end of this meeting, which will undoubtedly strengthen the work of the Council in maintaining international peace and security.

The President: I now invite His Excellency Mr. Bernard Kouchner, Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, to take the floor.

Mr. Kouchner (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank you, Sir, for your initiative to convene this meeting so that we might consider together the ways in which we undertake the United Nations most essential mission — that of maintaining international peace and security.

We must be clear-headed. Peacekeeping operations are often criticized, even rejected, by host countries, as we have witnessed recently. Sometimes, they struggle to fulfil their mandates. They are expensive. They are not always as responsive as they should be. And we were all appalled by the impunity with which, even very recently, mass rapes were perpetrated in the Kivus, despite the deployment of a United Nations operation with significant assets. All of this is true. But do not let the trees hide the forest. What would we do without peacekeeping operations?

No other international organization enjoys the legitimacy, the capacity and indeed the will to do what the United Nations does on a daily basis throughout the world. Clearly, even if all of us clearly favour prevention, and despite the system's imperfections, we have not yet found anything better with which to assist and strengthen nascent and therefore fragile peace processes; to assist States in need to restore their capacities, administer their territory and thus avoid a return to conflict; to guarantee the international community's vigilance and ensure that the most vulnerable are not left all alone in facing the hangman — in a word, to involve the entire international community in the settlement of crises from which we do not want to avert our eyes.

This mission is extremely bold, perilous and, some would even say, utopian. If the United Nations does not meet this challenge, no one can do it in its place. It is thus imperative that the Council — which bears, I repeat, the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security — learn from both its successes and its failures and adapt its decisions accordingly.

You, Mr. President, rightly voiced the hope that this meeting would cover all aspects related to the maintenance of peace, whether it be the prevention of conflicts, or peacekeeping or peacebuilding when they have ended. Indeed, increasingly, we need to consider all of this together.

At the very heart of this process, we have peacekeeping itself. Of course, we are especially wedded to this, because this is one of the major responsibilities of the United Nations, and because the lives of millions of women, men and children depend on peacekeeping operations. Thousands of French soldiers and over 150 gendarmes and police officers serve as Blue Helmets — as Hillary Clinton said earlier, thinking of our berets — and my country contributes to the tune of $585 million to the budget for peacekeeping operations.

We have experienced failure. We have experienced success. In certain cases, we have reached the limits of what we could expect of the missions. We have also witnessed tragedies: in Rwanda, in the former Yugoslavia and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We must remember these. We have learned those lessons.

We are now striving to ensure that peacekeeping operations be based on specific, clear and prioritized mandates, with a clear timeline when possible, and that they be supported by appropriate and sufficient financial, human and technical resources. I am looking across the Chamber at the head of peacekeeping operations, who is looking at me dubiously.

We have also adapted the United Nations actions to ensure better protection for vulnerable populations and achieve lasting results. Have we been successful? Not always. Today, the success of the United Nations must be gauged by the yardstick of the protection of civilians. Our credibility is at stake here.

The United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) illustrate the challenges we must face. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the protection of civilians remains the priority for the Blue Helmets' mandate. But the situation is not under control, as the Council is well aware, particularly in the east, as shown by the recurrence of terrible violence against civilians, of which I just spoke — in particular against women, since it is easier.

The training of the police and army must lead to law enforcement forces being redeployed to liberated areas, without a security vacuum, and to the authority of the Congolese State, including in the judicial field, being lastingly restored throughout the Territory.

In Darfur, attacks against civilians do not take place by chance. They are organized and have been described as crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Court. In the climate of impunity that prevails in that battered region, UNAMID is repeatedly exposed to attacks, which prevents it from protecting civilians sufficiently, even

in the camps. The Security Council should reflect on how to respond to that situation.

Apart from the primary need to protect civilians, it is also necessary to draw up strategies for emergence from crisis that ensure a lasting return to peace, in particular with regard to the economic, social and political recovery of communities often ravaged by conflict.

In line with those developments, we have taken steps to restore the effectiveness of the Security Council. Change is under way. We must welcome that and welcome the commitment of the Secretariat, which was able to adapt to the new modus operandi and the new relationships that the Council wished to establish among all actors. However, there remains much to do.

I thank you again, Mr. President, for having organized this meeting. We must continue our work to ensure a stronger chain of command in operations, which has started, in order to improve cooperation among troop-contributing countries and also to ensure stricter political, military and financial supervision of peacekeeping operations. We should improve our work on resources and implementing budgets, as Celso Amorim has just said, by ensuring that when it takes decisions, the Council has a sound understanding of their operational and financial impact and of their future. We should also regularly review the strategy, balance, composition and size of operations.

Peacekeeping operations are the expression of the international community's commitment. I pay tribute to all those who are in charge, involved and sometimes victims. Such operations must establish lasting peace. That is easy to say, but they are not meant to last forever. It is necessary to then secure those achievements and ensure the implementation of a true transition strategy.

That is why it is critical that we learn to better manage the transition and withdrawal phases in peacekeeping missions. At that level too, considerable effort has been made in recent years and there have been successes, seen in the gradual transfer of responsibilities to national authorities and the orderly withdrawal of several peacekeeping operations. I am thinking of Burundi, Sierra Leone and Cambodia. Faced with legitimate criticism, we forget the successes.

However, we need to make more progress. We are counting on the Peacebuilding Commission, which has been mentioned, to come up with a response to the need to ensure better coordinated activities of the international community in the phases of emerging from a conflict. One thinks that once the operation has ended, the problems are over. They are just starting.

The stakes in peacebuilding must be taken into account from the first stages of crisis management in order to anticipate the conditions and mechanisms to emerge from the crisis. That compels us today to assess the risks associated with new threats, such as drug and human trafficking, organized crime and even corruption, which are very likely to destabilize fragile countries.

Finally, it must be said, the efforts undertaken by the international community in mandating a peacekeeping operation require resolute commitment by the host State. The political contract entered into must be severed only once lasting peace has been restored. It is never acceptable for a Government to give notice to a United Nations mission or decide on its withdrawal without consultations, in particular without providing credible assurances that it is capable of taking over. I know that it is not easy and that we are faced with similar situations.

This debate, which you, Mr. President, have taken the initiative to organize and which will be complemented by an outstanding statement, affords us another opportunity to reiterate our commitment to peacekeeping and our desire to further improve its effectiveness. Rest assured that France will spare no effort in advancing the implementation of our common road map.

The President: I shall now make some brief remarks in my national capacity.

Having listened to the members of the Council and the valuable insights they have presented based on their own experiences, I can easily state that the purpose of the meeting has already been well served. This exchange has proven to be particularly important for my country, since Turkey is situated at the crossroads of a host of conventional and asymmetrical risks and threats dominating a vast geography ranging from the Balkans to the Middle East, from the Black Sea and the Mediterranean to the Caucasus and Central Asia. Therefore, Turkey often finds itself dealing with a great diversity of issues affecting its own security

and beyond, and tries to help generate peace and stability in that broad area.

In doing so, we, like many other members of the international community, rely on and resort to a wide range of tools, including mediation, preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping and post-conflict peacebuilding. Indeed, Turkey has recently become particularly recognized for its active mediation and facilitation efforts. This is no coincidence, because we see such preventive efforts as the most cost-effective and efficient way of resolving potential and existing disputes. We also have the comparative advantage and capacity to do so. As such, we attach great importance to building and improving the preventive capacities of the international community.

In the case of ongoing conflicts, on the other hand, we are a significant police- and troop-contributing country in many United Nations and international peacekeeping missions. Moreover, we are actively involved in a broad range of peacebuilding activities, including development assistance schemes, with a view to helping create the conditions for sustainable peace. The lessons we have drawn from these experiences can also shed some light on our discussion today.

First, starting with preventive diplomacy, the international community needs to better coordinate its activities. Given the multidimensional and indivisible nature of the current security environment, all major stakeholders need to collaborate among themselves, starting within the United Nations itself. The Security Council, in particular, must reach out to its partners within and outside the United Nations system and make better use of their comparative advantages in the pursuit of our shared objectives.

Secondly, the Council's approach to peace and security should be of a more comprehensive and strategic nature. So far, there has been a tendency to use our operational tools in a more sequential fashion in the order of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and post-conflict peacebuilding. Our experience, however, suggests that pursuing such a uniform and linear sequence holds us back in each area and creates inefficiencies. We should instead be able to forge an overarching political strategy, placing all these tools within an integrated, coherent framework. For instance, mediation and facilitation should not be merely seen as a way of reaching certain agreements. It is essential for these efforts to be sustained throughout the implementation of peace accords, too.

Similarly, peacekeeping, which has become an increasingly complex and robust undertaking, should not be confined to stabilization operations carried out by police and military forces. In order to ensure lasting success, our peacekeeping mandates must incorporate an early and long-term peacebuilding perspective. In this regard, the critical linkages between security and development, or between human rights, democracy and security, should be taken into account. The root causes of conflicts ought to be addressed early on to create the conditions for sustainable peace and stability. Likewise, the necessary civilian capacities with respect to good governance, the rule of law, human rights, and economic and human development have to be improved at both the national and the international levels.

Finally, we have to admit that we operate in a rapidly evolving and somewhat unpredictable security environment. Indeed, the risks and threats facing us constantly change, requiring us to adapt our actions and responses accordingly. Despite dedicated efforts, the Council has so far proven to be somewhat slow in adapting itself to changing circumstances.

In order to remedy this shortcoming, the Council needs to interact more with non-member countries and in a more transparent and forward-looking manner. The Council should also endow itself with enhanced early warning and assessment capabilities, as well as flexible resourcing mechanisms. There are many other related topics we might discuss in this context, but in view of the time, let me stop here and reiterate my hope that this meeting will re-energize the Council's efforts for peace and security.

In the uncharted waters of the twenty-first century, there is no doubt that we need a more effective Security Council to fulfil its primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security. Today's debate has demonstrated that this common objective is well within reach. We now need to take the necessary concrete steps to materialize it. Turkey will always be a reliable partner of the Council and the international community in this just and noble drive.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

The Council has before it the text of a statement by the President on behalf of the Council on the subject of today's meeting. I thank Council members for their valuable contributions to this statement. In accordance with the understanding reached among the members of the Council, I shall take it that the members of the Security Council agree to the statement, which will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2010/18.

It was so decided.

The President: I wish to thank all of the Heads of State and Government, Ministers and the Secretary-General for their contributions to this important meeting. The Security Council has thus concluded its deliberations.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.6390

Security Council

Sixty-fifth year

Provisional

6390th meeting

Monday, 27 September 2010, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Davutoğlu	(Turkey)
Members:	Austria	Mr. Spindelegger
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Mr. Barbalić
	Brazil	Mr. Amorim
	China	Mr. Li Baodong
	France	Mr. Araud
	Gabon	Mr. Toungui
	Japan	Mr. Nishida
	Lebanon	Mr. Salam
	Mexico	Mr. Heller
	Nigeria	Mr. Ajumogobia
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Uganda	Mr. Kutesa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Hague
	United States of America	Ms. Rodham Clinton

Agenda

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

Letter dated 1 September 2010 from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2010/462)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

10-55136 (E)

Please recycle

The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

Letter dated 1 September 2010 from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2010/462)

The President: I wish to warmly welcome the Secretary-General, ministers and other representatives present in the Security Council Chamber. Their presence is an affirmation of the importance of the subject matter to be addressed.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. I wish to draw Council members' attention to document S/2010/462, containing a letter from the Permanent Representative of Turkey addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting a concept paper on the item under consideration.

Before I give the floor to the Secretary-General for his briefing, allow me to say a few words on the reasons that led us to organize this meeting.

Almost a decade has passed since 11 September 2001, when terrorists attacked the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York, only a few blocks from where we are now. The adoption of resolution 1373 (2001) following that heinous and cowardly attack on innocent civilians constituted a milestone in the fight against terrorism. Indeed, the resolution had meaning far beyond a sincere and natural outpouring of solidarity all around the world, providing as it did a sound and practical framework for the individual and collective measures necessary to combat the scourge of terrorism.

Today, that resolution remains a point of reference and guidance for our campaign against terrorism. However, despite the many positive steps taken since then, terrorism continues to pose a serious threat to international peace and security. In some parts of the world, we are even witnessing an increase in the activities of various terrorist groups. In other words, terrorists have proved to be extremely resilient in their ability to adapt to changing circumstances and to exploit every gap or loophole they find in our common stance.

That is why we have to be equally committed and resilient in our fight against this threat. We must never be complacent about our achievements, and we must always try to do better. Moreover, considering that no country is immune to the perils of terrorism, we have to act collectively and in full solidarity with one another. And there is no better place than the United Nations for combining our strengths and displaying a strong and united position. Indeed, the United Nations has always held a central place in advancing the global fight against terrorism, be it in terms of setting norms, capacity-building or monitoring implementation.

Given its primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security, the Security Council in particular must continue to play a leading role in ensuring that we are sufficiently equipped and prepared to combat terrorism. This is precisely why we decided to organize this meeting, with the following particular objectives in mind: to undertake a true stock-taking of the past 10 years; to conduct an honest review of the effectiveness of the steps we have taken so far; to make a candid assessment of the current threat posed by terrorism; and to lay out a bold and forward-looking strategy for our future actions. We hope that such a frank and focused exchange will help to re-energize the international community's campaign against terrorism, and highlight the priority areas that require continued and concerted attention and action.

We would, of course, have preferred to have the non-Council Members of the United Nations participate in this meeting too. This would only have helped to further reinforce our message against terrorism. However, given the high-level meeting of the General Assembly, we had to opt for this format today, considering that there will be other occasions before the end of the year at which all Members of the United Nations will be able to participate and join in the debate.

Furthermore, as the Chair of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, Turkey has also worked diligently since the beginning of the year to emphasize the importance of close cooperation and coordination among Member States. We are guided by the principles of transparency, interaction and partnership, which we believe will not only raise common awareness at the international, regional and national levels, but will also

streamline our efforts against the constantly evolving threat of terrorism. We will continue to work in the same spirit in the coming months.

I now invite the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Ban Ki-moon, to take the floor. I am grateful to him for joining us today. His strong personal conviction and dedication to advancing the cause of counter-terrorism since he took the helm of our Organization have been most commendable. I could therefore have not have thought of a better introduction on this occasion.

The Secretary-General: I thank you, Sir, for your very kind, warm words. I also thank the Turkish presidency of the Security Council for its initiative in convening this debate, and I extend a warm welcome to His Excellency Foreign Minister Davutoğlu. I also warmly welcome the other ministers who are participating in this very important meeting of the Council.

Terrorism poses a grave threat to international peace and security. Many of the countries represented around this table have first-hand experience of this menace. There have been so many attacks, lives lost and families destroyed. The United Nations has been targeted, too, from Iraq to Pakistan and Algeria to Afghanistan.

Terrorism may be a gathering storm, but the international response is gathering steam. Over the past five years, the United Nations has expanded its counter-terrorism activities, increased inter-agency coordination and enhanced partnerships with a wide range of international and regional organizations. Joint initiatives with Member States in many regions — including the Sahel, the Horn of Africa, the Middle East and South and Central Asia — have shown that there is much we can do.

Countering terrorism demands a broad approach. First, we must continue our efforts in the fields of security and law enforcement. That includes measures to further deprive terrorists of financial resources and mobility, and to prevent them from acquiring and using weapons of mass destruction.

Secondly, other areas deserve more attention. Education, development, intercultural dialogue and conflict prevention all have growing relevance in addressing conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism.

Thirdly, we must do more to better understand the reasons people are drawn to violence so that we can do more to prevent others from following that path.

Fourthly, we need to continue strengthening the legal regime, building on existing international counter-terrorism instruments and relevant resolutions of the Security Council. The value of these measures and of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy lies in their consistent and equal implementation.

Fifthly, we must improve the way we share information and best practices. That means establishing national focal points and regional networks and mobilizing civil society, the private sector and the media.

No counter-terrorism approach would be complete without a full commitment to human rights and the rule of law. Both the Security Council and the General Assembly have consistently endorsed the protection of human rights as an integral component of any effective counter-terrorism policy, and I welcome the attention the Council has devoted to this topic. Several States — including those that have been victimized by terrorism — are eager to implement their obligations under the counter-terrorism frameworks but lack the resources and other capacities to do so. Capacity-building is therefore a priority for the United Nations.

Considering the gravity of the situation in the Sahel-Maghreb region, I am committed to working with the region's leaders on strengthening State capacity for counter-terrorism. In Central Asia, the United Nations is already working on capacity-building in the areas of law enforcement, criminal justice and international cooperation.

I would also like to stress the importance of supporting victims of terrorism. It will be recalled that two years ago we held a very moving seminar here at Headquarters at which many victims of terrorism spoke about their experiences. On 8 October, again here at the United Nations, we will screen "Killing in the Name", a documentary that not only highlights the plight of terrorism's victims but also, we hope, will help empower them and others towards greater levels of engagement in bringing an end to such crimes.

With respect to the Security Council itself, I welcome the enhanced coordination between the

Council's subsidiary organs and partner entities in the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force. All of us should broaden engagement with bodies that deal with measures listed under pillar 1 of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, such as the Alliance of Civilizations. The Alliance is a central part of the United Nations response to extremism and intolerance, and a necessary voice of moderation to counter the incitement and hatred that are such prominent parts of terrorism's playbook.

No cause or grievance can justify terrorism. Let me stress again the determination of the United Nations to rise to a global, cross-border challenge that seeks to do such harm to us all.

The President: I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

Before giving the floor to members of the Council, I should like to recognize the achievements of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999) concerning Al-Qaida and the Taliban and Associated Individuals and Entities in recent years, under the able chairmanship of Austria, and the valuable contributions of the Monitoring Team, including the successful conduct of the review of the consolidated list.

I now invite His Excellency Mr. Michael Spindelegger, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria, to take the floor.

Mr. Spindelegger (Austria): Horrible acts of terrorism occur almost every day. Hardly any part of the world is spared. Terrorism knows no borders. No country is immune. No country, how big or small, can succeed unilaterally. Terrorism can be combated effectively only in a global multilateral framework. The United Nations must be at the centre of our joint efforts to counter terrorism.

I would like to thank Turkey and you personally, Mr. President, for presiding over today's meeting. I also thank the Secretary-General for his briefing. Austria fully supports the draft presidential statement to be adopted today, which sends a strong message of the Council's determination to combat the scourge of terrorism.

The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy provides the first universally agreed strategic framework for combating terrorism in a holistic and integrated manner. The success of the Strategy will depend on its implementation through concrete measures. A few weeks ago, the General Assembly completed the second review of the implementation of the Strategy. Some progress has been achieved, but much more needs to be done to make the Strategy more widely known and to implement it worldwide. In order to better link the efforts of Member States in this regard, in October 2009, together with Switzerland, Turkey, Norway and other partners, Austria co-sponsored the first International Workshop of National Counter-Terrorism Focal Points in Vienna.

Coordination and cooperation are key to the success of our counter-terrorism efforts. Member States; United Nations organs and entities, including the Security Council and the General Assembly; other international, regional and subregional organizations; as well as civil society and the private sector must all work together in a coordinated manner. We encourage the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force to continue its efforts to ensure overall coordination and coherence in the counter-terrorism efforts of the United Nations system.

Austria calls upon the Security Council and its three committees and expert groups dealing with counter-terrorism to look at ways in which to better support the work of the Task Force, incorporate the Strategy into their work, and coordinate their activities in a transparent and effective manner.

It is Austria's firm belief that respect for human rights and the rule of law is a fundamental basis of all efforts to combat terrorism. We all must ensure that any measures taken to combat terrorism comply with our obligations under international law, in particular human rights law, refugee law and international humanitarian law. The development of an effective and rule of law-based national system of law enforcement and criminal justice is an essential element to prevent terrorist acts and to bring terrorists to justice. In this context, we commend the work of the Terrorism Prevention Branch of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, which provides technical assistance in legal and related aspects of counter-terrorism.

Austria is also committed to promoting the rule of law in the daily work of the Council and its subsidiary bodies. In particular, as chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999) concerning Al-Qaida and the Taliban and Associated Individuals and Entities, Austria has

worked intensively to enhance due process and fair and clear procedures. This year, the Committee concluded the two-year review of its consolidated list. Of the 488 list entries examined, hundreds were updated and almost 10 per cent removed.

The recent appointment of Ms. Kimberly Prost as first Ombudsperson to receive de-listing requests in accordance with resolution 1904 (2009) constitutes another major step forward. These steps will contribute to promoting the fairness and effectiveness of the work of the Al-Qaida/Taliban Committee. However, further efforts will be necessary to improve fair and clear procedures, in particular with regard to other sanctions regimes.

Austria commends the progress of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) in addressing human rights issues of relevance to resolution 1373 (2001). However, there are still serious challenges to implementing effective counter-terrorism measures within a rule of law framework. In this regard, we call for the development of best practices and guidelines to ensure that all States adopt consistent approaches in the field of human rights and counter-terrorism. A pro-active approach of the CTC in this field is key to its credibility and long-term success. The upcoming renewal of the mandate of the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED) will provide an opportunity to affirm this commitment.

In the context of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1540 (2004), at the comprehensive review in October 2009 Austria spearheaded an initiative to raise awareness of the need for strict respect of the rule of law, due process standards and the protection of human rights in the implementation and enforcement of resolution 1540 (2004). Austria also plans to host a meeting with international and regional organizations relevant to resolution 1540 (2004) in Vienna on 15 and 16 December this year.

It is our firm conviction that we will be successful only in combating terrorism in the long term if we address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism. We must win the hearts of the people through dialogue and mutual trust. In this regard, we highly commend the role of the Alliance of Civilizations, led by Turkey and Spain. Austria is proud to host the Fifth Annual Forum, given our long tradition as a platform for dialogue, cooperation and peace. As part of our dialogue initiatives to promote trust and understanding among people of different religions and cultures, in November 2010 Austria will launch the first Arab-European Young Leaders Forum, which will bring together emerging leaders from politics, civil society, business and the environmental sector in the European Union, Turkey and the Arab world to discuss ways to implement responsible leadership.

In conclusion, Austria once again welcomes today's meeting, which underlines the United Nations central role in countering terrorism and sends a strong message that we all stand united to overcome the global threat of terrorism.

The President: I now invite the Honourable Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State of the United States of America, to take the floor.

Ms. Rodham Clinton (United States of America): I thank you, Sir, for the leadership that you and Turkey have shown this year as Chair of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. I also thank you for bringing us here today to focus on what is a shared mission to combat terrorism and violent extremism. We are called to this mission as individual nations and as a community of nations to protect our citizens, strengthen our security, foster stability in unstable places and help to create the conditions for long-term progress.

I want to thank the Secretary-General and his staff here at the United Nations, because after all the United Nations is our premier forum and is valuable for sharing best practices and helping nations that struggle with terrorism to build their capacity to respond to threats. The United Nations has recently taken steps to advance these goals by integrating counter-terrorism throughout its work to address peace and security challenges worldwide, while at the same time promoting transparency and improving coordination within the United Nations system and with the national counter-terrorism teams on the ground in communities around the world.

I want to speak briefly about the progress made with one critical counter-terrorism tool — the sanctions list of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999) concerning Al-Qaida and the Taliban and Associated Individuals and Entities. This list must evolve as the threat posed by these groups evolves, so we are pleased that the 1267 Committee actively

updates the list. So far this year, 45 names have been removed and 17 have been added. We commend the Committee for creating the post of Ombudsperson to receive petitions for individuals and entities that want to be de-listed. We applaud the inclusion of Al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula and its leaders on the list, and we encourage Member States to provide regular updates to the Committee to ensure that the list remains accurate.

This regime, as with all of our joint efforts, is only as strong as our shared commitment. Today, let me emphasize that the United States is committed to working through multilateral institutions, including the United Nations, to confront the threats posed. We are also committed to strengthening this multilateral architecture. We believe that it can do better, so although we are very supportive we want to work with all here to improve it, since we also believe that countering terrorism is not a task that any country achieves on its own. It is a global challenge. It calls for all nations to be vigilant and creative, as well as receptive to new ideas, willing to set aside failed strategies, and be open with each other about the threats we face and how we are addressing them. We are far more likely to succeed in thwarting terrorist networks like Al-Qaida and its syndicate of organizations if we work together to track their actions, share intelligence, disrupt their schemes, and put their leaders out of action.

These groups have a global view, and we must have one too. That begins with a shared understanding of the big picture. Counter-terrorism demands a comprehensive approach, as reflected in the draft presidential statement that will be adopted at the conclusion of today's meeting. Therefore, we need intelligence operations capable of discovering terror plots, military and law enforcement officers trained and ready to stop them, border control officials who can spot potential dangers, justice systems that can fairly and effectively prosecute criminals, and corrections systems that can then detain those who have been arrest and/or convicted. We have to do more to develop these institutions and capacities and help each other by mobilizing expertise and resources.

But, at the same time, and beyond these measures, we have to realize that countering terrorism means more than stopping terrorists. It means stopping people from becoming terrorists in the first place. That requires addressing the political, economic and social conditions that make people vulnerable to exploitation by extremists. For people whose lives are characterized by frustration or desperation, and for people who believe that their Governments are unresponsive or repressive, Al-Qaida and other groups may offer an appealing view, but it is a view rooted in destruction and we have to provide an alternative view that is rooted in hope, opportunity and possibility.

That means enacting policies that create new opportunities for people to build a better future for themselves, strengthening our commitment to core values, particularly human rights and the rule of law. We cannot sacrifice those values in our zeal to stop terrorists. Our values are what make us different from those who are trying to tear down so much of the progress that has been made over the course of history — and I have to add, especially for women and girls.

So as we work to defeat terrorists worldwide, we cannot abandon our values; we must defend them. Each of our countries represented around the Security Council table today has felt the impact of terrorism or violent extremism. Our citizens have been attacked and our cities threatened, and those threats will, unfortunately, continue. However, our determination to protect our people and our common humanity are greater than those who seek to harm us. I think that if we are smart and thorough in our approach and continue our work together, we can reduce and eventually end the threat of terrorism.

I again thank both the Secretary-General, and in particular you, Mr. President, for pulling us together to talk about this today.

The President: I now invite the Minister of External Relations of Brazil, His Excellency Ambassador Celso Luiz Nunes Amorim, to take the floor.

Mr. Amorim (Brazil): I would like to commend you, Minister Davutoğlu, and the Turkish presidency for convening this important debate on terrorism. I also want to thank the Secretary-General, with whose wise ideas we agree. I am also glad to see that there is a broad commonality of views on such an important topic.

Terrorism is a scourge that haunts our time. There are no excuses for terrorist acts, which inflict suffering and fear indiscriminately. Brazil has always condemned terrorism in all its forms and

manifestations. Our Constitution enshrines the repudiation of terrorism as a fundamental principle of our international relations. Brazil is a party to all relevant international conventions and protocols against terrorism.

As a serious global threat, terrorism must be addressed with a holistic approach and full consideration of the complexity of its root causes. Violence and intolerance take root in an environment of long-standing social, political, economic and cultural injustices, to which reference has also been made today. Social and economic development, accompanied by an atmosphere of respect for the other, is the best antidote to terrorism.

In combating terrorism, Brazil has a strong preference for truly multilateral agreements and arrangements. It is important to reinforce the capacity of the United Nations in this field. We fully support the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. We appreciate the fact that the Strategy is inspired by a comprehensive perspective.

We must guard against dangerous rhetoric and postures that fuel xenophobia and prejudice. Tolerance is key to avoiding violent polarization and extremism. Initiatives such as the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations can have a role in this regard. Our draft presidential statement appropriately refers to that.

At a 2003 conference on combating terrorism held here in New York, President Lula stressed that the terrorists' motivations cannot be countered only by repression, important as repression may be. Diplomatic initiatives based on international law are also essential. Brazil emphasizes the urgent need to conclude the negotiations of a United Nations comprehensive counter-terrorism convention, with special attention given to the relationship between organized crime and the financing of terrorism.

There is also growing concern that terrorists might have access to weapons of mass destruction, especially nuclear weapons. At the Nuclear Security Summit in Washington D.C. in April, President Lula reaffirmed that, without prejudice to the indispensable security measures that need to be taken, the most effective way to reduce the risks of nuclear devices falling into the wrong hands is the total and irreversible elimination of all nuclear arsenals.

The Council has a unique role both in responding to and in preventing terrorism. Our strongest contribution to fighting terrorism would be to attain just and sustainable solutions to long-standing agenda items. Peacebuilding efforts can also help to avert the spread of radicalism in countries already affected by conflicts and social strife. Cooperation and capacity-building in relation to security measures, as well as broader information sharing, are very important.

I reiterate Brazil's full support of the initiatives undertaken by the Security Council's committees to facilitate technical assistance to countries that request it. Brazil is ready to cooperate with other countries in this regard. It is our common duty to prevent and combat terrorism. Counter-terrorism strategies must be predicated on the rule of law and the full protection of the human rights of all involved.

The full realization of universal human rights, including the right to development, must be an integral part of all efforts to combat the terrorist threat. For all these reasons, Brazil is fully committed to a coordinated and multidimensional response to all the challenges posed by terrorism. The United Nations should be at the forefront of this endeavour.

The President: I now invite the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, His Excellency the Right Honourable Mr. William Hague, to take the floor.

Mr. Hague (United Kingdom): I am very grateful to you, Mr. President, for organizing this important debate today and to the Secretary-General for being here with us.

Terrorism remains one of the greatest challenges to international peace, stability and security, and therefore also to the development and prosperity of nations. The threat posed by international terrorism is evolving and becoming more diffuse, and our response to it as an international community must therefore evolve. We must stand together, building on the successful cooperation of the past to protect our own citizens and assist those of other regions where terrorism has found a foothold.

While the United Nations efforts have been improving and should be commended, there is still scope, in our view, for better coordination among the various United Nations counter-terrorism bodies, and

between the other parts of the United Nations system and Member States, to help Governments develop and implement their own counter-terrorism strategies.

United Nations programmes to build the counter-terrorism capacity of Member States should complement bilateral efforts between Member States. The United Nations has a role to play in filling gaps that could otherwise be exploited by terrorists, their financiers and supporters. The fiscal constraints common to most countries in the wake of the financial crisis make it all the more important that we focus resources on assistance to the most vulnerable countries.

In that regard, the threat emanating from the Afghan-Pakistan border remains our greatest long-term concern. The current situation could be exacerbated by the consequences of the devastating recent floods. We must therefore reinforce international support to the Government of Pakistan so that the instability and human misery of today do not become the recruiting sergeants of tomorrow.

Terrorists will try to exploit disasters, instability, alienation and conflict wherever they can, seeking to harness poverty or political grievances to violent ends, and trying to justify the unjustifiable with specious social, economic and political arguments. So our efforts to alleviate suffering, reduce poverty, prevent conflict, keep and build peace, which are essential in and of themselves, also help undermine the ideology of violent extremism and deplete the ranks of Al-Qaida and other terrorist groups.

The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, unanimously reaffirmed by the General Assembly earlier this month, recognizes the importance of addressing conditions conducive to terrorism. To that end, United Nations agencies, such as the United Nations Development Fund and UNESCO, must play full and active roles as members of the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force.

We have seen growth in the capability and ambition of Al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula, Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, and Al-Qaida-aligned extremists operating in East Africa. We must work with Governments and a range of partners in those regions to disrupt, contain and reduce the threat. Terrorists are adapting and becoming more opportunistic.

The growing trend in kidnapping for ransom is one example of this. The United Kingdom Government believes that we must act to prevent kidnapping ransoms from becoming a significant source of terrorist finance. From our own experience of hostage situations, we understand how difficult kidnapping cases are, but it is dangerous to regard ransoms as a necessary evil or legitimate tool for resolving kidnappings. They encourage more kidnappings and fund murder. Major attacks can be mounted for only tens of thousands of dollars, so million-dollar ransoms can mean dozens of attacks. Resolution 1904 (2009), adopted last December, explicitly confirmed that it is illegal to pay ransoms to those whom this Council has sanctioned because of their connection to Al-Qaida or the Taliban, and we look to all countries to respect this resolution.

We are here in part because of the terrible atrocities committed not far from this building just over nine years ago. Hardly any country in the world has been untouched by terrorism. The most lasting and devastating impact of terrorism is, of course, on victims, their families and communities. I am reminded of this each day; outside the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London stands a memorial to the 202 victims of the Bali bombings, including 28 British people who died that day.

The United Nations can provide a platform for victims of terrorism from all over the world, to give them a voice and help others derive strength and inspiration from their courage. Their stories remind us that terrorism is an assault on all humanity. They are the most effective antidote to the peddlers of violent ideology and a spur to Governments around the world to make common cause against terrorism in all its forms. The United Kingdom will continue to stand absolutely firm in this endeavour.

The President: I now invite His Excellency Mr. Paul Toungui, Minister for Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation and La Francophonie of the Gabonese Republic, to take the floor.

Mr. Toungui (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): I would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your initiative in organizing this important debate on counter-terrorism. We are aware of your commitment and that of your country in fighting this phenomenon. We welcome among us the presence of the Secretary-General, and I reaffirm the support of my country for

his ongoing work for peace and security throughout the world. We endorse the draft presidential statement to be adopted at the end of the meeting.

Terrorism is not only an attack on the life and dignity of the human being; it is also and above all a negation of civilization and can therefore never be justified. No cause, ideology or religion can serve as a pretext for the atrocities perpetrated throughout the world, including in Somalia, Uganda, India, Russia, Afghanistan, Iraq and the Sahel, to list only a few of the most recent examples.

The tentacular structure of terrorism requires a strong and unified response from the international community. Since the adoption of resolutions 1373 (2001), 1267 (1999) and 1540 (2004), the United Nations has assumed its full responsibility to help Member States to effectively fight terrorism. I welcome the outstanding role played by Turkey, Austria and Mexico in guiding the work of the counter-terrorism committees.

In adopting the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in September 2006, States Members of our Organization reaffirmed their commitment to fighting international terrorism. This momentum should lead us to consolidate the legal framework and means for fighting this phenomenon. Hence, we must do our utmost to overcome the differences in approaches that stand in the way of the finalization of a comprehensive convention against international terrorism.

Given that terrorism is a global threat, no nation small or large is safe from this scourge. At the same time, we see a distinct asymmetry between the methods of engagement and the global nature of the threat. In addition to the costs of the fight, the terrorists themselves are also engaged in increasingly sophisticated operations. I therefore call for a strengthening of the capacities of the developing countries, taking into account the specific needs and identified threats, especially in African countries.

My country welcomed the Central African workshop organized in Libreville in June by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. The workshop allowed us to learn about the international legal provisions applicable to illegal actions against the security of shipping and offshore oil rigs. Gabon has also adopted major security, financial and customs-excise measures, in synergy with the States of the subregion, to enhance preventive actions against the financing of terrorism.

I will end by saying that our common action against terrorism must be in step with our commitments to respecting human rights and fighting poverty. Since counter-terrorism is a collective responsibility, my country reaffirms its commitment to contributing to the global effort to fight this odious international phenomenon.

The President: I now invite His Excellency Mr. Henry Odein Ajumogobia, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, to take the floor.

Mr. Ajumogobia (Nigeria): Mr. President, let me, too, begin by commending your initiative in convening this important and timely debate. Our conversation this morning no doubt builds on the meeting of 17 June 2010 held in Istanbul, which your Government also convened. I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General at this meeting and thank him for his illuminating statement.

We welcome the significant progress that has been made in the global fight against terrorism since the adoption of resolution 1373 (2001), and we note in particular the commendable efforts of the Council's three counter-terrorism committees established pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999), 1373 (2001) and 1540 (2004) in ensuring the full implementation of the relevant resolutions and improving their working methods and interactions with Member States.

The most recent terrorist bombings in Mogadishu, in Vladikavkaz in Russia, in Zahedan in Iran and Kampala in Uganda, not to mention the scores of attacks in Iraq and Afghanistan, are stark reminders of the currency and enormity of the challenges of terrorism. We know now that the absence of effective counter-terrorism measures, compounded by weak legislative and financial controls and inadequate policing of lengthy maritime and porous land borders, provide a platform for terrorist activities. Indeed, countries with weak institutional capacity are the most vulnerable to infiltration by terrorism networks.

In West Africa, the illicit but extensive trade in small arms and light weapons imported into the region by non-State actors, in collaboration with unscrupulous foreign arms producers and suppliers, facilitates terrorist activities. We therefore wish to reiterate our

call for an effective international response, including the elaboration of an arms trade treaty to complement the Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), as well as the activities of the ECOWAS Small Arms Unit.

To support the implementation of international counter-terrorism resolutions, States would need to develop national legislative and institutional measures anchored in human rights, due process and the rule of law. Pursuant to this goal, the Nigerian Parliament is considering a bill on the prevention of terrorism that addresses these issues. We have also established a national focal point that comprises four counter-terrorism centres to strengthen our efforts to combat terrorism. We welcome in this context the efforts of the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, through the Integrated Assistance for Countering Terrorism initiative, to support counter-terrorism activities in Nigeria. We commend the efforts of the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate (CTED) in facilitating the trilateral contacts among donors, international technical assistance providers and countries requiring such assistance.

We support the continued collaboration and coordination of CTED with other United Nations agencies, within the framework of the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force. CTED should explore additional means through which States and regional organizations could be assisted to deliver more on border controls, information exchanges and intelligence-led policing. We also commend the efforts of technical assistance providers that have collaborated with the countries of the West Africa subregion to combat terrorism.

The fight against terrorism cannot be left to one country or region. It requires collective, concerted and coordinated global action for maximum effectiveness. Such an approach will require the Council to take into account measures to enhance the implementation of several counter-terrorism resolutions. Greater regional and international cooperation, as well as better coordination among relevant actors, should be promoted. The establishment of country-specific regional hubs as centres of focus is also a necessity. Needless to emphasize is the importance of cross-cutting institutions and self-sustaining transfers of knowledge aimed at bridging existing knowledge gaps.

Of crucial importance is the need to address the capacity challenges of States and their institutions in an integrated manner, including measures to address the economic, social and political conditions conducive to the existence and spread of terrorism. The adoption of the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy by the General Assembly was a positive development in that regard. We urge the Council not only to consider a similar approach, but also to support the elaboration of a comprehensive international convention on terrorism.

The strong support provided by African Governments to global anti-terror campaigns needs to be strengthened by enhanced collaboration at both the bilateral and multilateral levels, in particular in the extradition and apprehension of African terrorists.

I would like to conclude by reiterating our condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. I urge the international community to muster the necessary political will to confront the challenge, as nothing can justify the murder of innocents. We support the draft presidential statement that will be adopted at the end of this debate.

The President: I now invite His Excellency Mr. Sam Kutesa, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uganda, to take the floor.

Mr. Kutesa (Uganda): I thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this important debate. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his insightful briefing.

The dreadful terrorist attacks around the world have continued to highlight the need for collective and resolute action to counter and eliminate this evolving threat to international peace and security. We have witnessed the indiscriminate impact of callous acts of terrorism on victims and their families in various countries. Terrorism is therefore a global threat.

Uganda strongly condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. We reaffirm that all terrorist acts are criminal and unjustifiable, regardless of their motivation and whoever may commit them. On 11 July, Uganda was the target of a cowardly attack by Al-Shabaab terrorists, which resulted in the death and injury of many people. That attack was a reminder of the need to stand up against terrorism even more firmly.

The United Nations has made an important contribution to counter-terrorism efforts. It was

significant that, in September 2006, the General Assembly adopted the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy to enhance national, regional and international efforts to counter terrorism. It was significant because that was the first time that States Members of the United Nations agreed to a common strategic approach to fighting terrorism.

We consider the activities of the three counter-terrorism Committees valuable to the work of the Security Council. In particular, we commend them for their work in developing common strategies to advance the global fight against terrorism.

In recent times, we have seen an increase in the sophistication of terrorist networks through their ability to exploit the benefits of information and communication technology, as well as linkages with the transnational criminal networks that finance their operations. Part of the emerging sophistication manifests itself in a symbiotic overlap of terrorist activities with such international criminal activities as money-laundering, human trafficking and drug trafficking.

Our collective efforts should fundamentally aim at denying terrorists any haven, eradicating sources of terrorist financing, reducing State vulnerability and enhancing emergency preparedness and response capabilities. It is in so doing that we can preserve the territorial integrity and sovereignty of States and ensure the safety of our citizens.

As terrorism and transnational criminal activities thrive on the same vulnerabilities and utilize very similar actors, it is necessary for the United Nations to support the implementation of counter-terrorism measures that sever the mutually reinforcing and symbiotic relationships that exist or may emerge.

We are convinced that appropriately crafted counter-terrorism measures that deal with fundamental vulnerabilities, such as economic distress and weak State structures, can effectively deprive terrorists of havens and recruiting grounds and strengthen the ability of States to effectively counter terrorist threats.

It is also important to give priority attention to prevention in the fight against terrorism. We need to ensure that our collective approach places emphasis on building national and regional capacities and facilitating cooperation among States. It is essential to put greater emphasis on fostering better information-sharing, operational planning and initiatives that strengthen regional counter-terrorism capabilities and cooperation.

Uganda underscores the importance of closer cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in counter-terrorism activities. We are convinced that such cooperation is an essential and a necessary approach to developing more effective counter-terrorism measures.

In their collective resolve and determination to deal with this common threat, African countries have adopted instruments and decisions towards creating a common framework for preventing and combating terrorism. Members of the African Union (AU) acceded to the provisions of the 1999 Algiers Convention as a guiding principle in the collective quest to prevent and combat terrorism. The AU summit held in Kampala in July this year underscored the need for renewed efforts and increased mobilization on the continent to combat the scourge of terrorism. It also called on member States to implement enhanced measures for cooperation and coordination to boost the continent's collective action against terrorism.

Finally, countering terrorism is in the interest of all of us. We are convinced that by working together we can deal with the threat of terrorism. However, in our counter-terrorism efforts, we should demonstrate our individual and collective resolve to decisively prevent and combat terrorism for the peace and security of us all.

The President: I invite His Excellency Mr. Gérard Araud, Permanent Representative of France, to take the floor.

Mr. Araud (France) (*spoke in French*): I would of course like to thank the Turkish presidency of the Security Council for having organized this debate. We have all been or could be affected by terrorism, as France found several days ago with the kidnapping of five of its citizens in Niger.

France would therefore like to see the United Nations play a greater role in combating terrorism. Much has already been done in that regard. Since 1963, we have adopted 16 international instruments on the subject. In the early 1990s, the Security Council began to address this issue, which poses a serious threat to international peace and security. A sanctions regime was imposed on Al-Qaida and the Taliban. Thanks to

the willingness of Member States, we now have the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, for which the General Assembly has just reaffirmed its support.

However, the character and aspects of the threat continue to change, given its complex roots specific to each regional situation. We refer here to roots and not to causes, much less to justifications. However, the international community should make no mistake about the fact that terrorism is inexcusable in every instance and circumstance. That principled position should not inhibit us from seeking to understand the roots of the phenomenon of terrorism so as to better adapt the tools we have developed to confront it.

In that regard, I feel it important to underscore one of the most significant developments in terrorist networks that we have seen in some years — their tendency towards regionalization. Rather than a decentralized, amorphous grouping, we are now seeing movements that are independent of one another, each with its own recruitment methods, logistical and financial resources, political aims and raison d'être, which require particular and appropriate responses. Al-Qaida in the Islamic Mahgreb, a group representing a regional destabilization strategy through cross-border activities, is one of the clearest examples of that evolution. We need to come up with a response that takes such an evolution into account.

We have recorded success against terrorist networks, but more must be done. All States must ratify and implement the 16 relevant international legal instruments. Negotiations on the comprehensive counter-terrorism convention, a potential cornerstone of international cooperation, must be concluded. The fight against terrorism led by the security forces and the judicial authorities must be pursued in respect for human rights and the relevant international instruments. That is a condition for the legitimacy and effectiveness of the fight against terrorism.

Technical assistance must underpin the joint activities of intelligence services, police authorities and judicial bodies. It should help all States to meet their commitments. Poverty and the lack of development prospects are the breeding ground for terrorism. United Nations programmes must continue to take that element into account.

We must promote genuine regional strategies in response to the destabilization efforts of terrorist networks. The increase in transnational organized crime, which the Council has already debated, is a significant factor in spreading terrorism in that it weakens the capacity of States to respond. Our Organization must remain mobilized against that scourge. In that regard, I would cite the example of drug trafficking as proof of that, whether in Central Asia or West Africa.

Lastly, we must give our full support to the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force entrusted with coordinating all the Organization's counter-terrorism work. We must also support the work of the Group of Experts set up to support the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999), which is responsible for keeping the consolidated list of individuals and entities linked to Al-Qaida and the Taliban up to date.

That is our vision — giving the international community the means to address, in strict respect for democratic principles and human rights, a threat that all States face today.

The President: I now give the floor to the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation.

Mr. Churkin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): At the outset, allow me to thank you, Mr. President, for having organized this Security Council meeting on the very important topic of counter-terrorism.

Brutal terrorist attacks on our territory and many other States bear witness to the extent of the threat and remind us of our common responsibility to eliminate terrorism and the need to strengthen measures to counter and prevent terrorism. Russia reaffirms its principled position of unconditional condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. We believe that, owing to its universality, the United Nations must continue to provide political and moral leadership and to coordinate international counter-terrorism efforts, in accordance with its Charter and other norms of international law.

The Security Council's resolutions on counter-terrorism remain topical and important. Their full implementation by United Nations Members is an essential elements of the wide range of counter-terrorism measures to which States have committed themselves under the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.

Russia is prepared to continue to actively support the counter-terrorism work of the Security Council and its specialized subsidiary committees, and to seek to bolster the effectiveness of measures taken by the Council. We believe that the further strengthening of dialogue between the Security Council and Member States on implementing the relevant resolutions to be crucial to achieving those objectives.

On a practical level, suppressing the financing of and other support to terrorists, ensuring that borders are monitored for terrorist activity, and severing the links between terrorism and organized crime, including drug trafficking, remain pressing issues. A clear example of such dangerous links is Afghanistan, where terrorism and drug production continue to fuel each other. According to our assessment, Afghan drug production has increased to such an extent that it threatens international peace and stability. The link between piracy and terrorism is increasingly evident. In certain regions of the world, pirate groups share their revenue with terrorists.

It is also very important to take effective steps to ensure that terrorist acts are punished. Here, the effectiveness of international preventive cooperation, including mutual legal assistance, must be strengthened. The principle of extradition or trial must prevail. Legal loopholes, safe havens and other ways to escape accountability must be eliminated. In that context, it is appropriate to recall Russia's proposal to develop a global convention on extradition and mutual legal assistance, including in counter-terrorism.

The overall strengthening of the international legal basis to fight terrorism is a pressing matter. The issue of defining terrorism must be resolved in a comprehensive counter-terrorism convention. The need to further regulate cyberspace, including preventing its use for terrorist purposes, is increasingly evident. I reaffirm that Russia supports the establishment of a comprehensive convention on cybercrime.

We should also recall the existing international counter-terrorism conventions. Efforts to increase the number of signatories should be pursued in order to promote their full implementation. We note the important role in that process of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, whose services are increasingly in demand.

Time has shown that counter-terrorism law enforcement measures must be complemented by wide-ranging efforts to prevent terrorism, including steps to eliminate the conditions that fuel it, to further dialogue among civilizations and faiths, to counter the ideology of violence and militant extremism, and to address the radicalization of societies.

In that regard, we note the significance of resolution 1624 (2005), which seeks to counter incitement to terrorism and to enhance intercultural dialogue and preventive measures. Russia does not accept the theory of a clash of civilizations and cultures. It categorically rejects the equation of any religion with terrorism. In that regard, we see potential for the Turkish-Spanish Alliance of Civilizations initiative, which calls for projects to be implemented under the Alliance to further counter the ideological spread of terrorism.

Counter-terrorist efforts will be significantly more effective if States, civil societies and business work together in the context of an equal and reciprocal partnership. We are pleased to note that Russia's 2006 initiative for a public-private counter-terrorism partnership has taken shape, gained the necessary momentum and become a concrete part of practical measures, programmes and projects throughout the world. We will continue to contribute to that work both nationally and in line with the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate, the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute and the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force.

The adoption of today's draft presidential statement will reaffirm the Council's resolve and unity in countering the unrelenting threat of terrorism. It appropriately reflects the Council's increasing efforts to counter terrorism and to address that scourge.

In conclusion, I wish to affirm that the Russian Federation is ready, in close cooperation with other States, to pursue its vigorous efforts to strengthen the international community and to bolster the potential of the United Nations to resolve pressing issues related to counter-terrorism security.

The President: I invite the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, His Excellency Mr. Ivan Barbalić, to take the floor.

Mr. Barbalić (Bosnia and Herzegovina): I would like to express our appreciation to you, Mr. President, and to the Government of the Republic of Turkey for having convened this meeting, and I would like

especially to welcome your leadership in today's debate. We appreciate every opportunity to consolidate our common efforts and we reiterate our determination to fight terrorism in all its aspects as the threat it represents is ever present and will remain so for the foreseeable future.

Due to its various forms, methods and manifestations, terrorism poses challenges to the modern world and our societies and endangers international peace and security. It is therefore our common responsibility to collectively prevent and confront this global plague with both national and coordinated international action. In that context, the United Nations, as a universal Organization, and the Security Council, as the body with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, bear the greatest burden of responsibility for improving the effectiveness of counter-terrorism policies and developing the international legal standards and norms necessary to that end. Concluding the negotiations on and adopting the comprehensive convention on international terrorism as a specific international law enforcement instrument as soon as possible would provide the international community and Member States with an effective tool for strengthening cooperation and coordination in their joint counter-terrorism action.

The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy remains a central international framework for the concrete and efficient efforts of the international community. We therefore call for its full implementation, welcoming the recent unanimous adoption of General Assembly resolution 64/297 during the second biennial review of the Strategy.

While the primary responsibility for implementing the Strategy lies with Member States, the leading role of the United Nations in coordinating counter-terrorism activities through the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force and subsidiary bodies of the Security Council continues to be highly important. On the other hand, the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999) concerning Al-Qaida and the Taliban and Associated Individuals and Entities, the Counter-Terrorism Committee and the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1540 (2004) remain core tools in the global counter-terrorism campaign. I would like to reiterate Bosnia and Herzegovina's strong support for every step that further strengthens these mechanisms and therefore the campaign in its entirety.

The promotion and protection of human rights and the rule of law should remain a priority, as they constitute the fundamental values enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Any measures undertaken by States to combat terrorism, including the prosecution and conviction of perpetrators of terrorist acts and the protection of and provision of reparations to victims, must be anchored in the rule of law and comply with State obligations under the provisions of international law, in particular international human rights, refugee and humanitarian law.

Since the Security Council debate on terrorism in December 2008 (see S/PV.6034), we have witnessed significant improvements in respect for fundamental rights and freedoms in the international sanctions regimes. The adoption of resolution 1904 (2009) and the recent appointment of the Ombudsperson reconfirm the commitment of the international community to advancing clear and fair listing and de-listing procedures for the 1267 Committee, thus contributing to greater transparency in that Committee's work, as well as to the credibility of the overall counter-terrorism regime.

The increasing correlation among terrorism, transnational organized crime, drugs and arms smuggling, and money-laundering, as well as the frequent use of new information technologies by terrorists, requires an integrated global approach and close cooperation among relevant State institutions and elements of civil society at the national level, as well as cooperation and coordination with subregional, regional and international organizations.

While every State has the primary responsibility to formulate and implement appropriate policies and measures, the role of the United Nations in helping build Member States' capacity to prevent and combat terrorism is of the utmost importance. Cooperation at the regional and international levels, including continuous exchange of information, intelligence and best practices, and technical assistance for countries that need it, will enable countries to fulfil their obligations and requirements under relevant international instruments and Security Council resolutions.

Finally, Bosnia and Herzegovina welcomes the draft presidential statement on terrorism before the Council today and reiterates its strong commitment to combating terrorism in all its forms at both the national and international levels.

The President: I now invite the Permanent Representative of Lebanon, His Excellency Mr. Nawaf Salam, to take the floor.

Mr. Salam (Lebanon) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I would like to welcome Minister Davutoğlu and to thank the Turkish presidency for having organized this important and substantive meeting, as the United Nations has a central role to play in fighting terrorism. I should also like to thank the Secretary-General for his valuable briefing. We support the draft presidential statement before the Council for adoption at this meeting.

Lebanon strongly condemns all acts of terrorism in all its forms and considers them to be a dangerous threat to international peace and security and basic human rights, especially the right to life. Modern history has seen several forms of terrorism, to which innocent people of different religions, nationalities and cultures have fallen victim. The attacks of 11 September 2001 in New York were among its worst examples, as noted by the Lebanese President before this Council last Thursday (see S/PV.6389).

Terrorism has afflicted many parts of the globe quite indiscriminately — from Japan and Sri Lanka to Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, and from India, Pakistan, Uganda and Kenya to Britain, Russia, Spain and other countries. While we have endeavoured for years to define a unified concept of terrorism, innocent people fall victim every day, many of them present by coincidence at the moment terrorists strike. Condemning terrorism, killing and destruction is no longer sufficient, as it does not change the situation or protect the innocent.

Lebanon strongly rejects conflating terrorism with any religion, especially Islam. Islam is not a religion of extremism. The Koran says "And thus We have made you a just nation" (*The Holy Koran*, II:143). Islam is a religion of dialogue. The Koran also says "and have disputations with them in the best manner" (*ibid.*, XVI:125).

Terrorism has not spared Muslims or Islam. Many Muslims fell victim to the horrific attacks of 11 September 2001. Today, many Muslims continue to fall victim to bombings in Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen and Somalia — some even in mosques. There are consistent attempts to distort this divine religion, which calls for tolerance and acceptance of others. A campaign is afoot — a culture of intellectual terrorism — to spread horrors about Islam, which has led to Islamophobia. We would like to sound a note of caution that taking these provocative acts lightly — the desecration of religious sites and ignoring the feelings of believers — may be extremely dangerous. While we completely respect the freedom of expression, such acts do not fall within the purview of freedom; they are nothing more than provocations that undoubtedly fan the flames of terrorism.

Lebanon distinguishes between terrorism and the legitimate right of people to resist foreign occupation, which has been enshrined in all international resolutions, instruments and norms. The best example of this is that no one applied the label of "terrorism" to the resistance mounted by the French against the Nazis during the Second World War. You, Mr. President, are the best person to confirm that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk became a symbol of Turkish independence when he led the resistance to the foreign presence in Turkey.

Lebanon appreciates the efforts of the United Nations and all its organs and agencies to combat terrorism. We reaffirm our resolve to cooperate with all of them, including the Committees established pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999), 1373 (2001) and 1540 (2004).

We encourage States to strengthen their institutions and legal capacities to combat terrorism. In that context, we call for respect for human rights and the rule of law in all measures to combat terrorism. We have to pay attention to the relationship between all the tools of terrorism, such as transboundary organized crime, trafficking in persons, weapons and drugs, and money-laundering.

Lebanon believes that terrorism cannot be combated by military means, exchange of intelligence, financing or borders alone. It should be done by dealing with the root causes of terrorism and removing the factors that feed it, through the elimination of hotbeds of tension, renunciation of double standards in the implementation of international resolutions, accepting others and respecting rather than eliminating the specificities of each country or distorting its image.

We should also end foreign occupation, injustice, poverty and the trampling of human rights and dignity.

We must also stress the role of dialogue among cultures and civilizations. Lebanon advocated that theme was advocated during its presidency of the Council last May. The initiative of an alliance among civilizations launched by Turkey and Spain plays a desirable role.

As we emphasize the importance of dealing with the root causes of terrorism, we do not have to recall that Al-Qaida tries to exploit the suffering of the Palestinian people as one of the means for recruiting terrorists. That alone is a reminder that we should affirm the need for the international community to accelerate the achievement of a comprehensive, just peace in the Middle East.

Lebanon — which has signed most of the international conventions on combating terrorism — has also suffered from terrorist bombings that have claimed the lives of a number of politicians, foremost among whom was President Rafik Hariri, plus many journalists and many innocent people killed in the past five years. Lebanese forces have fought terrorist groups and still are fighting them. The army was able to eliminate one of the most dangerous of them — Fatah al-Islam, in Nahr al-Barid in northern Lebanon. That movement had nothing to do with the national Palestinian liberation movement Fatah or with Islam.

In addition, Lebanon has suffered from Israeli State terrorism over the decades. I will recall that Israel bombed civilian installations, including electrical, water and oil installations, the airport, bridges, commercial planes, even hospitals and Red Cross Red Crescent ambulances, as well as the United Nations headquarters in Qana — which was supposed to be a refuge for the elderly, women and children, who thought that the Blue Flag could protect them.

The General Assembly has reached by consensus a unified counter-terrorism strategy. Lebanon hopes it will be reflected in a comprehensive convention that will deal with terrorism in a unified way. That is possible if we decide to deal with this phenomenon objectively and in a manner in consonance with the rules and provisions of international law.

Mr. Nishida (Japan): On behalf of the Japanese Government, I wish to express my gratitude, Mr. President, for your organizing this thematic debate to promote a fruitful discussion on counter-terrorism. I also wish to extend my appreciation to the Secretary-General for his informative and comprehensive briefing.

Terrorism continues to be one of the biggest threats to international peace and security. Despite the fact that the international community, led by the United Nations, has made progress in counter-terrorism, the threats posed by terrorist organizations and individuals remain very high. Al-Qaida and other terrorist organizations and local extremists are still active, and many areas in the world face a threat from such groups. Last year the attempted bombing of a United States commercial aircraft reminded us once again that terrorism continues to be a global threat. Deep-seated problems surrounding terrorism, such as radicalization and safe havens, need to be addressed in an appropriate manner.

To eradicate terrorism, multifaceted approaches by all stakeholders are vital. The Japanese Government will continue to participate proactively in international efforts led by the United Nations to combat terrorism. In that regard, a recent review of the implementation of the Global Counter-Terrorist Strategy gave us an important opportunity to renew our determination to fight terrorism.

We expect that United Nations efforts in the field of counter-terrorism will be strengthened by coordination by the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, avoiding overlaps and duplication of its work.

To combat terrorism, Security Council leadership is crucial. The Council has set out various effective measures, including through activities by the three counter-terrorism-related committees: those established pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999), 1373 (2001) and 1540 (2004). We recognize that resolution 1904 (2009) has contributed to ensuring a fair and transparent procedure for the terrorist sanction regimes. We also welcome the recent successful review of the consolidated list of the Council's Al-Qaida and Taliban sanctions Committee.

Although we have taken positive steps for further counter-terrorism measures, there are still capacity gaps among Member States. From that standpoint, we believe that country visits and the preliminary implementation assessments conducted by the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED)

play a vital role in determining the needs for support and in coordinating capacity-building activities. We hope that the Counter-Terrorism Committee and CTED will carry out further efforts to enhance counter-terrorism capacity of all Member States by facilitating technical assistance.

Counter-terrorism is one of the most important national security agenda issues for the Japanese Government. I wish to reiterate our strong determination to continue to take an active role in the international community's fight against terrorism.

The President: Before I give the floor to Mr. Heller, I would like to express our appreciation for his able leadership of the 1540 Committee.

Mr. Heller (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): Thank you, Mr. President, for those kind words. And I wish to thank you, Minister Davutoğlu, and your delegation for the initiative of holding this important debate. I also wish to thank the Secretary-General for the information he has provided to the Council.

Numerous attacks and recent failed attempts in various parts of the world have shown that, lamentably, this scourge continues to represent a serious threat to international peace and security. In light of that reality, the delegation of Mexico reiterates its most energetic condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, irrespective of where it comes from and by whom and for whatever purposes it is committed. Our commitment to the international counter-terrorism fight is steadfast. The current debate not only gives us an opportunity to reaffirm this commitment, but also to identify the progress made and the outstanding challenges in this sphere.

Mexico has been a fervent and constant promoter of complete respect for human rights in the fight against terrorism. It is a priority matter for us, which we have championed in various forums of the United Nations system, including the Security Council, as well as at the inter-American level. The obligations arising from the Council's counter-terrorism regime are consistent with other commitments of international law, particularly those pertaining to human rights and humanitarian and refugee law.

It was the Council itself that confirmed and consolidated this relationship in a number of resolutions and statements, including the one that we will be adopting today. The consolidation of this complementary and mutually reinforcing relationship contributes to a better understanding of the scourge of terrorism and of the appropriate methods to fight it and in that way to effectively combat it. As we have pointed out on various occasions, legitimacy and effectiveness go hand in hand.

In this context, it appears to us to be fundamental to stress the progress made under the sanctions regime set up by resolution 1267 (1999) on Al-Qaida and the Taliban. Resolutions 1822 (2008) and 1904 (2009) have made significant contributions towards transparency and due process under this regime. That progress has been seen in practice, as evident in the recently concluded revision of the Consolidated List and the establishment of the Office of the Ombudsperson.

We cannot fail to insist, however, that just and clear procedures will not be achieved until we have an effective system for listing and de-listing. That is one of the most significant challenges that the Security Council's counter-terrorism strategy and sanctions regimes are currently facing, in the light of the rule of law at the international level.

We share the approach of seeing the threat of terrorism from a multidimensional perspective that deals with the underlying causes for its spread. In particular, Mexico believes that areas where there is exclusion, marginalization, ignorance and poverty are in some cases support for the spread of this threat. That is why we need to strengthen the holistic approach in our initiatives to reduce poverty, exclusion and frustration in the face of the lack of legitimate political hopes of peoples, groups and individuals, according to their regional contexts.

The comprehensive approach of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, with its four pillars, is on the right track. The review of the Strategy that the General Assembly has just concluded and Assembly resolution 64/297 show that the international community is united with regard to this approach. The international community has a solid international legal framework that covers a very broad panoply of terrorism actions. That legal regime and institutional framework designed as part of the Global Strategy is an ideal forum for cooperation.

Like other delegations, the delegation of Mexico would like to stress the importance of having a general counter-terrorism convention that could complement

that legal framework. Negotiations to that end have taken too long, and we call once again for their prompt conclusion. We already have a number of specialized legal instruments for fighting terrorism, but despite that we have not been able define the phenomenon.

The effectiveness of international norms, including the relevant resolutions of the Council, depends in large measure on implementation at the national level. We thus consider it indispensable to redouble efforts to provide more proactive technical assistance by specialized bodies and agencies such as the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. We also recall the importance of taking into account realities and needs at the local level. In the light of the proliferation in global counter-terrorism regulation, it is also indispensable to strengthen an integrative approach within the framework of the strengthening of the rule of law.

The advantages offered by a globalized world through borders open to the flow of people and commercial goods cannot be used as a window of opportunity for terrorists to move around freely, engage in unbridled arms trafficking or to mobilize resources unchecked. Mexico reaffirms its commitment to progress towards the strengthening of practical measures to strengthen border controls.

Close coordination between the three subsidiary bodies of the Council is another fundamental aspect where significant progress has been made and must continue to be intensified. As Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1540 (2004), Mexico would like to reiterate its commitment to such coordination. The threat arising from weapons of mass destruction in the hands of non-State actors, particularly for terrorist purposes, is one of the most serious to international peace and security. Based on the broad examination concluded last January, we have engaged in intensive consultations as part of a thorough reflection on the 1540 Committee and its future role in order to prevent, through the consolidation of international cooperation, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the hands of non-State actors.

Allow me to conclude, Mr. President, by congratulating you and your delegation for the excellent work that you have done in leading the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC). Under the leadership of Turkey, the CTC has acquired new momentum that has begun to show significant results. The streamlining of the working methods, the thematic debates and the more frequent reports to the membership of the United Nations are just a few examples. Initiatives such as the Ankara meeting last June and the meeting of public prosecutors on the topic of counter-terrorism planned for the end of this year are crucial in order to better project the work of the Committee and to promote understanding and cooperation among capitals, which are indispensable requirements for ensuring that our common efforts against this scourge are more successful.

Mr. Li Baodong (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I would like to thank Turkey for taking the initiative to organize this debate on counter-terrorism. I would also like to thank Foreign Minister Davutoğlu for his presence in presiding over today's meeting. The Chinese delegation would also like to take this opportunity to express its appreciation for the effective work carried out by Turkey as chair of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC).

Terrorism is a common threat faced by the entire international community. The Chinese Government has always supported decisive combat against all forms of terrorism.

In this regard, counter-terrorism efforts should adhere to one standard. The international community should decisively combat terrorist activities, wherever or whenever they occur. International cooperation in fighting terrorism should reject double standards; otherwise, such efforts will be off-track, run counter to the original intent to fight terrorism or even give rise to impunity for it. Counter-terrorism efforts should be based on international cooperation with strengthened coordination synergy, and the United Nations and the Security Council should play the central coordinating role.

During the past few years, the Security Council has adopted a series of counter-terrorism resolutions and the General Assembly has adopted the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, which have provided the necessary guidance for international counter-terrorism cooperation. Counter-terrorism efforts should adhere to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and fully respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. Countries throughout the world should strengthen their domestic counter-terrorism legislation, law enforcement and

cooperation in the areas of early warning mechanisms, the fight against terrorism, terrorism financing, travel restrictions, border control and intelligence exchange, among others.

China supports a larger role for the CTC in helping countries to build their capacity and in providing more counter-terrorism assistance to developing countries. Counter-terrorism efforts should aim to address both the phenomenon and its root causes in an integrated manner. Terrorism has a very complex political, social and economic background. Efforts to counter terrorism should pay attention to eradicating poverty and social injustices and to properly settling regional conflicts and preventing separatism, radicalism, hatred and intolerance in order to eliminate the breeding grounds for terrorism.

If we neglect such integrated efforts and rely merely on military and law enforcement methods, we may end up in a situation that breeds even more terrorism after such measures are adopted. Counter-terrorism efforts should also advocate dialogue and exchange among civilizations, religions and racial and ethnic groups to enhance mutual understanding and tolerance. Counter-terrorism efforts should not emphasize ideological elements. China is opposed to linking terrorism with a particular State, race or religion.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey.

Turkey has long-standing, direct experience with terrorism. I would like to take this opportunity to express our solidarity with all victims of terrorism around the world and our sincere condolences to the families of those who have lost their lives at the hands of terrorists.

This unfortunate and painful experience has taught us, among other things, the indispensable nature of international cooperation in combating this scourge. Indeed, terrorists operate across borders, exploit opportunities and use every available technology presented to them in today's globalized world. Efforts to counter this threat therefore need to be firm, coherent and adaptive.

The United Nations has a central role to play in laying the groundwork to make that possible. Indeed, through the adoption of a number of conventions, protocols and resolutions the United Nations has provided the international community with a sound legal structure on counter-terrorism. Through those instruments we have identified the relevant norms and necessary measures to prevent and suppress terrorist acts and to bring their perpetrators and facilitators to justice.

However, there is still a regrettable and significant gap between the objectives behind those measures and the stark reality. It is therefore incumbent upon us as members of the Council to make a candid assessment of the nature of the ongoing shortcomings and to search for remedies. That would constitute a vital first step to re-energize international counter-terrorism efforts. Let me cite a few areas of shortcoming as we see them.

Criminal justice is one crucial case in point. Victims of terrorism need to see that those who are engaged in terrorist acts are punished. Terrorists, for their part, should have no false expectation of immunity from justice. However, terrorists are still able to exploit loopholes in legal mechanisms, and at times they manage to escape criminal justice before our very eyes. For instance, the granting of asylum to perpetrators or supporters of terrorism remains a stumbling block to extradition. Therefore, while upholding the rule of law, we need to remedy these loopholes.

Terrorist financing is another important area where much more needs to be done. Despite the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism and Council resolution 1373 (2001), this critical problem continues. It is particularly in this area that terrorist organizations most exploit the lack of a harmonized, coherent international approach. The methods employed, such as extortion, fundraising through front organizations and transfer of funds by couriers, are well known. Against such activities, the international community must have a uniform and consistent approach that is effective and result-oriented.

Another issue that merits particular attention is the phenomenon of incitement to terrorism. Council resolution 1624 (2005) calls on all States to prohibit by law incitement to terrorist acts. However, there is an increasing trend of terrorism-related propaganda. Terrorist organizations benefit from freedoms inherent in our societies and exploit them for their own

purposes, namely, to terrorize audiences and breed radicalization and thus facilitate recruitment and support. In fact, there are even examples of terrorist organizations running television stations under pseudonyms. We cannot allow basic democratic rights, most notably the right to freedom of expression, to be exploited for motives linked to the aims and purposes of terrorist organizations. It is our shared responsibility to prevent that and to do so without exception.

Having mentioned some implementation gaps, I would now like to examine the underlying reasons for our failure to close those loopholes that have persisted for too long.

Let me start with the notion of political will. Let us be candid: at times the lack of political determination is where the problem lies. That cannot be allowed. Our stance must not waver either in rhetoric or action.

Lack of counter-terrorism capacity, particularly lack of expertise and resources, is another big challenge for many countries. Countries that have the will but for one reason or other lack the capacity to fight terrorism deserve our support. Turkey has security agreements with over 70 countries with a view to sharing experiences and building capacity. We will continue our efforts in this vein and encourage others to do the same.

As a key forum for developing global counter-terrorism norms, the United Nations also plays an important role in assisting the countries that should implement these norms. We strongly commend and support the capacity-building efforts of the relevant United Nations bodies. I wish to mention in particular the importance of the focused and regional approach pursued by the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate. We also appreciate the valuable contributions of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

In fact, there is a growing need for enhanced capacity-building and cross-regional cooperation to strengthen the international counter-terrorism structure. Such efforts should also be better coordinated among the United Nations bodies and with other multilateral stakeholders such as the World Bank, civil society and the private sector. That is why we strongly support strengthening the role of the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force in this field.

Last but not the least, counter-terrorism activities need to be conducted on a legitimate basis. Respect for human rights and the rule of law are indispensable elements of a successful counter-terrorism campaign. We are pleased to note that United Nations bodies have made concrete progress in this direction. In this context, I should particularly mention Council resolution 1904 (2009), which established the post of an ombudsperson. However, the Council continues to face criticism in this area. Therefore, it is the Council's duty to underline time and again that security and freedom are not conflicting objectives and that this is not a zero-sum game.

The challenge before us is not limited to remedying deficiencies in the present global counter-terrorism framework. We should also proactively debate emerging threats such as the increasing link between terrorist groups and organized crime, the advent of cyberterrorism and the spread of radical ideologies. In doing so, we should also consider the necessary steps to counter such challenges.

At this point I would also like to share my conviction that the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, needs to ensure that its focus goes beyond combating terrorism. It should be more comprehensive and focus on efforts geared towards preventing terrorism as well. In doing so, the Council can work closely with the General Assembly in addressing conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism. In any case, the United Nations is the most appropriate forum in which to develop ways and means to address the comprehensive nature of these challenges.

My remarks may imply daunting tasks for the United Nations: asking it to bring various stakeholders into play in counter-terrorism efforts, to provide knowledge and expertise to Member States, to develop global norms to address the evolving nature of terrorism in a comprehensive manner, and to monitor the implementation of these measures. Naturally, while expressing such expectations for the United Nations, it is also my duty to affirm my country's determination to support those endeavours. The shared determination of United Nations Member States leads me to be more optimistic that success is possible and that terrorism can and will be defeated.

I believe that the draft presidential statement to be adopted at today's meeting will duly reflect our

resolve to retain counter-terrorism as a priority on the agenda of the international community and to shed light on particular aspects of counter-terrorism that require more attention and new approaches.

Before concluding, I would like to thank the members of the Security Council for their cooperation and contributions to the preparation of this thematic meeting and the presidential statement.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

The representative of the United States has asked for the floor to make a further statement.

Ms. DiCarlo (United States of America): The Security Council's role should be to collectively advance efforts to counter terrorism and to use meetings such as this to discuss the topic productively. We do not believe that other grievances should be part of this discussion.

The President: The Council has before it the text of a statement by the President on behalf of the Council on the subject of today's meeting. I thank Council members for their valuable contributions to the statement. In accordance with the understanding reached among the members of the Council, I shall take it that members agree to the statement, which will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2010/19.

It is so decided.

I wish to thank all the Ministers and Permanent Representatives and the Secretary-General for their contributions to this important meeting.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.